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ABSTRACT

This book contains 14 papers: "Indigenous Peoples and Adult Education: A Growing Challenge" (Rodolfo Stavenhagen); "Indigenous Peoples: Progress in the International Recognition of Human Rights and the Role of Education" (Julian Burger); "Adult Learning in the Context of Indigenous Societies" (Linda King); "Linguistic Rights and the Role of Indigenous Languages in Adult Education" (Utta von Gleich); "Youth and Adult Education and Literacy for Indigenous Peoples in Latin America: Guatemala, Honduras, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia" (Teresa Valiente Catter); "The Educational Reality of the Indigenous Peoples of the Mesoamerican Region" (Vilma Duque); "Multiculturalism and Adult Education: The Case of Chile" (Francisco Vergara E.); "Anangu Teacher Education: An Integrated Adult Education Programme" (Mary Ann Bin-Sallik, Nan Smibert); "Inuit Experiences in Education and Training Projects" (Kevin Knight); "Adult Education among Indigenous Peoples in Ecuador" (Pedro Humberto Ushina S.); "Indigenous Reflections on Education: The Mixes and Triquis of Mexico: Our Experience in Popular Education" (Sofia Robles Hernandez); "A Personal Critique of Adult Education" (Fausto Sandoval Cruz); "Capacity Building: Lessons from the Literacy Campaign of the Assembly of the Guarani People of Bolivia" (Luis Enrique Lopez); "Development, Power and Identity: The Challenge of Indigenous Education" (Nicholas Faraclas); "The Saami Experience: Changing Structures for Learning" (Jan Henry Keskitalo); and "Tiaki Nga Taonga o Nga Tupuna: Valuing the Treasures. Towards a Global Framework for Indigenous People" (Nora Rameka, Michael Law). Appended are the Huaxyacac (Oaxaca) Declaration on Adult Education for Indigenous Peoples and a note on the book's contributors. (MN)

REFLECTING VISIONS

New Perspectives on Adult Education for Indigenous Peoples

Ed. Linda King

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Acknowledgements

The present volume of texts on adult education and indigenous peoples is a direct outcome of the international seminar " New Perspectives on Adult Education for Indigenous Peoples" held in January 1997 in Oaxaca, Mexico. I would like to thank in particular Dr Rodolfo Stavenhagen in his capacity as President of the *Fondo para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas* for his help in the initial conceptualization of the seminar.

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Linda King

Preface

This publication is about indigenous peoples' own vision of education and cultural emancipation; a vision challenging all simplistic views either unilaterally local or uniformly global.

In the preparatory consultation process of the Conference, the representatives of the indigenous people have made clear that Education For All could only mean for all and each, individuals and communities, the opportunity to start learning in and from one's own culture and context, to deepen one's roots and yet, on that basis and as soon as possible, to learn the official languages, to acquire the skills needed to participate actively in national economic and political life. The enlargement of the notion of democratization of adult learning to integrate both the objective of equality and of recognition of differences has become, through the voices of indigenous people, a central issue at the Fifth International Conference on Adult Education.

We thank the indigenous representatives for helping us consider afresh the objective of equal opportunity and to re-root it in plural world where equality and identity are rediscovered as two apparently contradictory but fundamentally complementary dimensions of any democratic education projects. The many questions, that this new vision raises, are here theoretically and practically documented. They constitute a challenge for all of us: to promote and celebrate rainbow societies where all will be able to develop her or his specificity and to dialogue with the many "others". A new perspective is thus opened in search of a global solidarity which takes its root in dynamic and opened local communities.

A special acknowledgment is inserted at the beginning of this publication to recognize all the partners which have made this project possible and to express to them the profound gratitude of UNESCO. Personally, I would like also to thank my colleague, Dr. King, for having initiated at the UNESCO Institute for Education this communication with indigenous peoples; it is not only a rich and promising field of research and development, but also, and perhaps more importantly, one that cries out for international solidarity.

Paul Bélanger,
Director UIE

INTRODUCTION

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND ADULT EDUCATION: A GROWING CHALLENGE

Rodolfo Stavenhagen

If adult education, in any or all of its many guises, is intended to open the doors of knowledge, and to widen the cultural and intellectual horizons of people who either achieve maturity without having had the benefit of full basic education, or of those who, having been fortunate enough to complete certain levels of formal schooling, still need or desire to obtain further learning or training at a later stage in their lives, then surely the over two hundred million indigenous and tribal peoples who are scattered over the world should be considered prime targets for adult educational policies.

Having been neglected and marginalized for a long time by official educational institutions, indigenous and tribal peoples were frequently (and still are, in some cases) the easy prey of missionary schools and other private efforts to "civilize" or "assimilate" them. In numerous parts of the world, in fact, indigenous and tribal education was often the preserve of religious institutions rather than the charge of governments. Only in recent decades have states assumed their responsibility to provide educational facilities for the indigenous, and this not without reticence and hesitation. Indeed, the issue of indigenous education has become one of the more controversial issues in the widening debate about the human rights of indigenous and tribal peoples and their changing relationship with the nation-state.

The precarious and vulnerable socio-economic situation of indigenous and tribal peoples, which has been widely documented in recent years, needs no further elaboration here. Several chapters in this volume speak to these issues eloquently. Development policies carried out by governments and multilateral agencies in indigenous and tribal areas, while no doubt well-intentioned in many instances, have not usually generated the hoped for well-being of the target populations. On the contrary, ill-conceived

programmes coupled with lack of sensitivity by national and international bureaucracies to the cultural identities and values of indigenous peoples, as well as the power of vested economic interests of all kinds, have often led to disastrous consequences for local communities and their traditional habitats. These processes are now widely recognized as amounting to the ethnocide of indigenous and tribal communities, a process that began in the era of colonialism and continues to this day.

The indigenous problematic is not limited to issues of economic and human development, as this is usually defined by the United Nations and specialized agencies. It refers, increasingly, to the relationship between a nation-state and ethnically distinct peoples who are identified as either indigenous or tribal and whose cultural identity (including survival and change) becomes a question of public debate and policy. The evolution of international human rights in recent years points to the emerging importance of the field of indigenous rights, and even as the more classic and traditional approaches to development are being revised, cultural diversity is recognized increasingly as a positive value to be respected and pursued, rather than discarded or attacked. In this sense, the draft Declaration of Indigenous Rights in the UN and the conclusions of the Vienna Congress on Human Rights in 1993, as well as the activities of the specialized agencies such as Convention 169 of the ILO and the various recommendations and resolutions of UNESCO's General Conference, constitute important pointers and benchmarks in the struggle for the full recognition of the human rights of indigenous and tribal peoples

Within this context it has now become necessary to debate the problems and possibilities of adult education as it relates to the situation of indigenous peoples. Surely, the next stage in adult education must take into account the progress that has been made to date in this field, and face the challenges it poses in the future. For this purpose, UNESCO's Institute of Education organized an international Seminar on New Perspectives on Adult Education for Indigenous Peoples, which took place in Oaxaca,

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New Perspectives on Adult Education for Indigenous Peoples

Ed. Linda King

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Mexico, in January 1997. The papers and discussions of this seminar are rich in their variety of approaches and practical experiences. They point to the complexities of the issues raised, and to the need for new conceptual orientations.

One of the more vexing problems to be faced is how the notion of "adult" is defined in different cultures. Obviously, among the multiple indigenous cultures of the world the various stages of an individual's evolution from childhood to senility tend to be defined quite differently from urban industrial society in which the idea of formal and institutionalized "adult education" arose originally. Similarly, gender relations vary from culture to culture, and approaches which might prove adequate in one environment are quite inappropriate in another. These issues are raised in the paper by Linda King, the Conference organizer, and they provide the framework for more specific analyses.

The major indigenous areas covered by the Seminar papers are the Pacific region, the Circumpolar area and Latin America. If we leave aside South and Southeast Asia (where the term "indigenous" raises some controversial political issues), these regions include the majority of the world's indigenous peoples.

Not surprisingly, despite their cultural and socio-economic diversity, they share many common features in terms of educational challenges, particularly as regards the problems and prospects of adult education.

In countries in which indigenous peoples represent a wide array of linguistic diversity, the cultural rights of indigenous peoples must comprise linguistic rights, as Utta von Gleich argues in her paper. But this is not always implemented without friction, or even recognized officially, because the acceptance of linguistic diversity may run counter well-established notions of national unity and territorial integration. It is unlikely that efforts at promoting adult education will be successful if the issue of linguistic rights is ignored or neglected.

Indigenous peoples suffer from high rates of illiteracy, and there seems to be general agreement among the Seminar participants that literacy is one of the fundamental tasks of adult education everywhere. But, of course, the question remains: which has higher priority, literacy in the country's national or official language, or literacy in the indigenous vernacular (when, in many cases, the indigenous language is not traditionally a written one). These issues are addressed among the Aboriginal population of Australia as well as the indigenous peoples of Latin America. One of the suggestions coming out of the Seminar is that adult education among indigenous peoples must take into consideration the fact that indigenous cultures are based on oral traditions and knowledge. Some observers have suggested, in fact, that among the indigenous there is the possibility of actually "jumping" from a pre-literate to a post-literate environment (ie. the intensive use of audiovisual media), and that literacy as traditionally understood may no longer be as indispensable a tool as formerly.

Beyond basic literacy, moreover, adult education among indigenous peoples faces the issue of contents: should adult education focus on training and the acquisition of basic skills enabling the young adult population to face the challenges of the labor market and to "integrate" into mainstream society? Or should adult education build upon traditional knowledge and cultural continuity, to enable members of a specific cultural group to consolidate and develop, as a community, their own contributions to the full flowering of their cultural personalities? The easy answer would be to say: both. But in fact, adult education programmes have too frequently taken the first alternative and neglected the second one. On the other hand, an idealized approach to local and traditional knowledge could easily become irrelevant to the day to day challenges faced by indigenous adults - either as individuals or as communities - in their continuous struggle for survival. A third alternative might be to offer indigenous peoples the opportunity to develop their own vision of "the good society", and for the international community to put at their disposal the means whereby choices can be made

democratically and respected within the framework of a truly multicultural education. The problem of choices and priorities is posed in a number of Latin American experiences in the field of "popular education", as well as among the Maori people in New Zealand, the Saamis in Norway and the Inuit in Canada.

The Declaration of Huaxyacac, which was adopted by the participants at the Seminar, states that adult education must strengthen indigenous peoples and their communities, and must be made available in their own languages and reflect their own cultures and world view. It also calls for national education systems to include indigenous oriented curricula, including links to local resources and the strengthening of indigenous knowledge, skills and identities. At the same time, the Declaration insists on the need for adult education to adopt an intercultural and transcultural focus that includes non-indigenous cultures, in order to promote the harmonious coexistence among cultures within the framework of a truly democratic society with justice for all.

A challenging agenda indeed for adult education in the twenty-first century.

PART I

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT OF ADULT EDUCATION FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

CHAPTER 1

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES: PROGRESS IN THE INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE ROLE OF EDUCATION

Julian Burger

It is summer in Geneva. It is early in the day but the sun is already hot and bathing the delegates' lounge in the United Nations European office with unshaded brightness. Chipped glass coffee tables have been turned into temporary desks, electrical leads coil from portable computers to floor sockets, and the first empty coffee cups are stacked on the floor. The early-morning delegates are not the usual breed. There are no grey suits and ties. Instead there is a different regalia - the tasseled shirt of the Mohawk representative, the red woollen tunic of a Saami lawyer, the multi-coloured ankle-length skirt and top of a Mayan primary health care worker. It is July, an hour away from the opening of the annual session of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations, and there are still plenty of preparations to complete.

It is now 15 years since the United Nations first opened its doors in a formal gesture by establishing a working group of its human rights think-tank of experts, the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. The Working Group on Indigenous Populations, as it was designated, has grown in size and importance as indigenous people from around the world learn of its existence. It has stimulated interest in other parts of the United Nations - those organizations and agencies dealing with development, environment, health, education and culture - and today their activities increasingly include these new actors on the international scene. In something a little over a decade indigenous peoples have begun to have their voice heard in the world body.

There are some who say that the problems that indigenous peoples face today and bring to the attention of the United Nations have deep roots that stretch down into a five hundred year history of land dispossession, forcible assimilation and genocide. Others argue that indigenous people are confronting a menace to their remaining lands and resources in the latter part of the 20th century as devastating and as unprecedented as the first wave of European colonialism - a menace that has accelerated with the rapid growth of demand for timber, minerals, hydroelectric power, farm land and prairie for cattle, and the precious life blood of the planet, water. If economic development and globalization of trade has brought inestimable wealth to many, it has left behind it countless indigenous victims. They are the people whose forests are stripped, rivers dammed, and lands torn open by the colossal earthmovers that presage the onslaught of large-scale mining. Certain indigenous people have designated the upheaval of their ways of life and cultures as a second colonialism. Discrimination and disadvantage, displacement and dispossession are familiar descriptions of the condition of the world's indigenous peoples at the turn of the millennium.

It may not seem quite that way in the delegates' lounge in the United Nations. There are portable computers and telephones linking representatives to their offices in Alaska, Rio Branco and the Philippines Cordillera. There is an easy buzz of languages - English, Spanish and Russian mainly. And there is a new generation of highly educated indigenous activist as comfortable arguing their case in a court of law as in a Minister's office. But it was not always like that, either in the national backyard or the international arena. A lot has changed in twenty years and the United Nations has played its part.

Nothing can illustrate better the newly found status of indigenous peoples at the international level than the decision by the General Assembly to proclaim the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1995 to 2004). For most of the history of the United Nations Organization,

the concerns of indigenous peoples - their rights and aspirations, the impact of modern developments on their ways of life and economies, their visions of the future - were outside its field of vision. For example, it was only in 1995, the year of the launch of the Decade, that the Commission on Human Rights - the principal intergovernmental human rights body - decided after half a century of existence that it would include the question of indigenous issues on its agenda. This may seem like an esoteric even purely symbolic action but for indigenous peoples active at the United Nations for years it was an acknowledgment by the world community that indigenous peoples had rights that merited the full attention of States.

The steps that had led to international recognition of indigenous concerns and aspirations had been arduous. In 1923, in the days of the League of Nations representatives of the Iroquois Confederacy had attempted without success to get their particular status as indigenous peoples recognized. It was only in the 1970s that the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, one of the United Nations expert bodies, carried out a Study on discrimination against indigenous populations which affirmed what had already become clear in many countries that indigenous peoples faced universal disadvantage and often were the victims of outrageous human rights violations. In 1977 the first International NGO Conference on Indigenous Peoples of the Americas was held in Geneva. A second international NGO conference on indigenous peoples and land was convened in the same city in 1981. In 1982, in response to the demonstrable and growing interest and concern, the United Nations set up the Working Group on Indigenous Populations consisting of independent experts and open to all representatives of indigenous nations and peoples.

The Working Group is established to consider the possible elaboration of standards to protect and promote the human rights of indigenous people and to review recent developments as well as to make recommendations to its parent bodies: the Sub-Commission (independent human rights experts)

and the Commission on Human Rights (Governments). It soon became clear, however, that it would stretch its mandate as broadly as possible as indigenous people heard about the forum and made every effort to attend. From its modest beginnings, the Working Group has become one of the largest annual United Nations gatherings, at least in the human rights area, and regularly brings together as many as 800 people from around the world. It has served as a catalyst for virtually every initiative that has taken place in the United Nations and has provided a forum for people and communities that would never have an opportunity to share their concerns and visions of the future.

It has generated studies, seminars, workshops and technical conferences to broaden international understanding of indigenous concerns and build consensus for action. A study on treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements between States and indigenous populations is due for completion in August 1997. It has already underlined the continuing importance of historic treaties in the present-day relationships between modern Governments and indigenous peoples and will offer recommendations on how to ensure fair implementation and respect for future agreements. A study on the protection of the intellectual and cultural property of indigenous people has pioneered new thinking about how best to protect the knowledge and cultural productions of indigenous communities at a time of global obsession of control and commercialization of knowledge and information. A set of draft principles are on the table at the Commission of Human Rights. Perhaps most critical of all, the Sub-Commission has recently made a preliminary review of indigenous land rights with a view to launching a full study in 1997/8.

In 1985 the first steps were taken towards drafting a declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples. At the outset the process of drafting was an unusual one. For the first time in United Nations history an international instrument was being born with the participation of village leaders, elders, activists, youth, women and hundreds of indigenous people whose only

departure from their community was to take part in the Working Group's activities. The draft declaration emerged from the experiences of the victims of human rights violations and the future beneficiaries of any project which might be placed before Governments. The elaboration of the draft United Nations declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples, which was completed in 1993, has certainly been one of the major achievements of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations.

In 1994, the draft declaration was adopted by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities and submitted to the Commission on Human Rights. The Commission, composed of 53 Governments, meets for six weeks in the year to monitor human rights worldwide. It established a working group of its own to review the draft declaration and set up a procedure for continuing involvement of indigenous people in the process. The General Assembly has since requested that the declaration be adopted before the end of the International Decade in 2004.

The draft declaration at present consists of 45 articles and covers virtually every concern of indigenous people. It recognizes rights of indigenous peoples to own, develop, control and use the lands and territories they traditionally own or occupy. It asserts the right of indigenous peoples to determine their development priorities and strategies for development and the right to require that their informed consent be given prior to the approval of any project affecting their lands. It recognizes rights to self-determination, autonomy or self-government and a range of potential jurisdictions. It also recognizes indigenous peoples rights to recognition of full ownership, control and protection of their cultural and intellectual property.

Articles 6 and 7 of the draft declaration prohibit acts of genocide and ethnocide. Indigenous peoples are to be protected from acts of violence including the removal of indigenous children from their families and communities. Any action which has the aim of depriving indigenous

peoples of their integrity as distinct peoples, or of their cultural values or ethnic identities is deemed to be an act of ethnocide of cultural genocide.

The declaration when it is finally adopted by the United Nations General Assembly will not be binding upon States. It will serve, however, as it has already begun to do, to set a framework for the negotiation between States and indigenous peoples. It will establish, if it is accepted without significant substantive changes, for the first time that indigenous peoples have the same rights as all other peoples without discrimination, in particular the right to determine their own future development. It will be the twenty-first century equivalent of the celebrated Papal Bull of the 16th century that recognized Indians of the Americas as human.

In 1993, the General Assembly proclaimed an International Year and in 1995 an International Decade of the World's Indigenous People with the goal of focusing international efforts on improving the conditions of indigenous people in areas such as human rights, health, education, development and the environment. The International Decade sets a loose programme and timetable for change. It includes a recommendation to the intergovernmental organizations of the United Nations system to contribute, through projects and programmes developed, implemented and evaluated in full consultation with indigenous communities and organizations, to improvements in the well-being of indigenous people in their areas of competence. Hence UNESCO, the World Health Organization, the International Labour Organization, the United Nations Development Programme and many of the other agencies have identified focal points on indigenous issues and developed specific activities.

The Decade also presents a more general challenge to the Members States of the United Nations and the institution itself. Since 1993, the General Assembly has called for consideration to be given to establishing a permanent forum within the United Nations for indigenous people. The proposal is broad enough to leave open the questions of its membership, terms or reference, competences, and the particular role to be played by

indigenous peoples, but the time frame announced for the realization of the idea is the Decade itself. Hence before the year 2004, a permanent forum for indigenous people, in some form or another, should be elaborated, approved and established as part of the institutional response to and recognition of indigenous issues.

Such a forum would probably be most warmly welcomed by the United Nations system as a whole. Since 1992 and the Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit, indigenous people have been attending high-level international conferences to make their views known and to demand inclusion in future programmes of action. In June 1993, indigenous delegations took the floor in the plenary of the World Conference on Human Rights to call unanimously for a space in the United Nations where their concerns could be addressed and acted upon. In practice, as was indicated in a recent report by the Secretary-General to the General Assembly, the system responds unevenly to the challenge. Indigenous organizations, with their limited resources, have been attracted towards international mechanisms where they consider they can maximize their input. This has led to great interest in the United Nation's work on environment-related matters and, in particular to the 1992 Convention on Biological Diversity which includes specific provisions in relation to indigenous peoples. On the other hand, existing established programmes of the United Nations are less well known to indigenous people and receive less than their full attention. The proposed forum would be expected to rationalize and strengthen the interaction between the United Nations system and indigenous peoples.

While indigenous peoples have generally welcomed the United Nations' initiative to proclaim a Decade, States have been less universally enthusiastic. They have not set national targets for increasing the incomes of indigenous people or improving their health or access to education, welfare, sanitation, housing or other quantifiable measures by the year 2004. Nor has the Decade inspired national programmes or celebrations. However, this does not mean that there has not been something of a

revolution occurring in some countries in relation to indigenous peoples. The broad international consensus that indigenous people are disadvantaged has certainly played its part in changing Government policy, in particular in terms of national legislation recognizing indigenous rights and specifically rights to land. This is so in the developed countries such as Australia, Canada or New Zealand as well as in the Latin American region. The last 20 years, even the past decade, have seen changes in the Constitutions and major legislation to ensure full recognition of the distinct identity of indigenous peoples in at least 30 States. Indigenous controlled territories have been created or re-created including jurisdictions over a range of political, economic and social areas. In certain countries, such as Canada or Colombia, the sizes of the lands returned to indigenous control are significant. The 1991 Constitution of Colombia, for example, recognizes about 20 per cent of the national territory as indigenous and in Nicaragua the indigenous peoples of the Atlantic Coast enjoy autonomy and rights over resources throughout their traditional homelands.

It would not be accurate to suggest that these changes, however unprecedented, have eliminated centuries of injustice, prejudice and disadvantage. But no one can compare the situation of indigenous peoples in the 1960s with their situation today without observing a dramatic difference. Most significantly assimilationist governmental policy based on the notion that indigenous peoples were disappearing in the great transnational melting pot has experienced a complete reversal towards an acknowledgment and even appreciation of the diverse cultures that make up national and global society. Concurrent with this transformation has been the remarkable changes within indigenous communities themselves. In some countries the renewed interest among indigenous peoples in their cultures, languages and histories constitutes a veritable renaissance. It is in this fundamental transformation of the indigenous world that education has played a vital catalytic role.

Education has served as a means of empowerment for many indigenous people, particularly those who have been most active in national and international politics. It has been observed that the generation of indigenous people who re-activated the movement for the self-determination of their peoples were living in the cities, often following courses at university, and in daily contact with discrimination. Others have learned through the practical experience of defending their communities' rights or trying to improve living conditions of the need to improve skills in law, accountancy, management, health care or other specialism. The Special Rapporteur on treaties, Miguel Alfonso Martinez, observes In a recent report on his visit to New Zealand that one third of the revenue generated by economic activities resulting from the settlement of two of the largest indigenous settlements to date is devoted or reinvested in education. The Nobel Prize Winner, Rigoberta Menchu Tum, has stressed with single-minded determination that education of the Mayan people of Guatemala is her principal priority. This is hardly surprising, in a country where two-thirds of the population are indigenous most of these receive only the minimum of primary education, few complete their secondary studies and a handful only make it to university.

Despite the academic successes of a few, indigenous people have been generally profoundly disadvantaged in terms of access to formal national education or else have been largely unsuccessful in completing their studies. In Canada, for example, where huge funds are available for education, the recent report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples notes that the majority of indigenous children leave before completing secondary school and that the gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in terms of high school completion had narrowed only slightly. (Vol.3 p.440) The report continues by asking why schooling has continued to be such an alienating experience for Aboriginal children and youth.

Part of the answer to the question can be found in the not-so-distant past. Education has not always been an instrument for promoting understanding, tolerance and friendship as intended in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. In Latin America, particularly in the more remote areas, many are the children who have been taken from their traditional learning environment and placed in missionary schools where they are placed on a forced diet of Christianity and Western values. Comparatively recently the more extreme fundamentalist schools have been expelled by certain Latin American Government. In Australia the Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission presented its report on the so-called stolen generation of indigenous children to Parliament in May 1997, describing the official policy of taking Aboriginal children forcibly from their parents and placing them in religious or State schools as genocide. The report estimates that between 1910 and 1970, the year when the policy officially stopped, as many as 100,000 children or 25 per cent of families may have been affected. It was only in the 1960s that Canada finally stopped its residential school programme which was responsible for taking children from their families and communities and placing them in forbidding, alienating and often brutal schools hundreds of miles from their homes.

And for what purpose? The proponents of these educational programmes were not reticent about declaring their goal. In Australia officials called it breeding out the Aboriginal people, teaching the young to scorn and despise their own culture and even their own close family, insisting that Aboriginal people were dying out and backward, offering the option of being second class citizens in the dominant society. The views and the policies are now history, but the impact and the victims are still part of the present.

It is this experience of education which may have coloured indigenous peoples' own proposals and action. The draft United Nations declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples, which relied heavily on indigenous

recommendations and formulation, provides for the right to full access to all levels and forms of education of the State and the right of indigenous peoples to establish and control their own educational system and institutions (article 15).

The Draft Declaration, drawing on the experience of indigenous peoples as victims of racism and stereotyping, also established the right to have the dignity and diversity of their cultures, traditions, histories and aspirations appropriately reflected in all forms of education and public information (article 16). The control of their own education establishments and the revision of national school curricula to include indigenous perspectives are universally demanded by indigenous people. Indeed indigenous people have created their own associations of bilingual teachers to promote indigenous languages, such as those in Mexico, or language schools like the so-called Maori Language Nests which have spread throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand and bring together elders with small groups of children to teach the Maori language and values.

Indigenous peoples have a difficult balancing act to master. There is no doubt that indigenous people seek greater access to mainstream education to learn the skills to navigate the 21st century. But such knowledge is useless without further strengthening the part of their cultures which makes them unique. The holistic, community based, life-long education that has been re-established by many indigenous people is alone capable of developing a new generation of indigenous children able to profit from the knowledge, values and understandings of both worlds.

CHAPTER 2

ADULT LEARNING IN THE CONTEXT OF INDIGENOUS SOCIETIES

Linda King

This paper is concerned with the new context of adult education internationally and the way in which this relates to the indigenous peoples of the world and their cultures. I shall explore certain key concepts that cut across this context and that have to do with definitions of who constitutes an adult and hence adult education, gender criteria in this concern, the role of civil society and the so called new actors, and the relationship between the formal and non- formal sectors in adult education. In the first part of the paper, therefore, I focus on cross cultural definitions of adulthood and the problems this poses for the conceptualization of adult education. In the second part I focus on literacy provision as one of the central concerns of adult education and discuss the changing concept of literacy in the light of the new international context of adult education for indigenous peoples.

Cross-cultural definitions of adulthood

There is an initial ambiguity in the notion of adult education that derives from the culturally conditioned definition of what it means to be an adult in different societies. Problems in the conceptualization of the subject of adult education or adult learning as it is now more usually framed, have to do not only with the diversity of cultures and languages in today's world but also with the school dominated model of education which has been prevalent in all national education systems and which is only just and very slowly beginning to be challenged. Adulthood may be defined not only by age, as is conventional in Western cultures, but also by citizenship, by

relation to the school system and inevitably by gender. By the same token adult education is contingent on these factors.

If we look at the way adult literacy figures are presented for example, we see that for the international definition as it pertains to literacy, or conversely illiteracy, adulthood is associated with age and begins at the age of fifteen. Statistics are calculated on the population over the age of fifteen which at the same time coincides with the end of secondary schooling, the compulsory period of education in most industrialized societies. Hence theoretically one is not deemed to be illiterate and therefore a subject for an adult literacy programme until one has passed the age in which one could hypothetically still attend school.

However, to be defined as an adult in terms of citizenship, in a restricted sense of electoral rights, the age limit is extended and the voting age in most countries defines adulthood and citizenship concomitant with the right to vote at the age of eighteen. We might also remember that until very recently in most countries women were not considered sufficiently adult to vote and that citizenship in its restricted sense of voting in the electoral system was considered a characteristic of the male gender. In this context we might also mention that some indigenous peoples were even denied the right to vote until recently, either by their inability to read and write or by virtue of their status in particular societies.

Chronological or biological age however, it goes without saying is not so important as a marker in many cultures as in the West and adulthood in many indigenous societies may be categorized less by age than by marriage and/or entering the reproductive cycle by bearing children. In many societies, and particularly among many indigenous peoples of the world, women are married and bearing children at very young ages, often closely following puberty, with their husbands often being only a few years older. Indeed the denominator "woman" may only be applied in some societies after a young woman has born her first child thus marking her entry into society as a mature member.

Yet another dimension to the whole issue of the cross cultural definition of adulthood and hence adult education has to do with the definition of adulthood in relation to schooling. As Illich pointed out over 20 years ago when he wrote of deschooling society: if there were no age specific educational institutions, childhood would go out of production. Conversely, we might add, would adult education. For childhood is closely linked to the school period and adulthood, as we have already suggested, to the day when schooling ends.

In terms of adult education therefore, adults are those who no longer qualify by age for formal schooling and who, within the state system of education, are either streamed through literacy programmes if they have not learned to read and write, or through the equivalent of primary and secondary schooling for adults. Contradictions immediately arise however: What about the out of school population? What about the young who never went to school and who have since an early age formed part of the labor market and who have even in some cases already begun to bear their own children? What about the many young people in countries of the developing world who attend school at a much later age? These questions bear particular relevance to the context of indigenous populations, where it is often the case that children attend school at a later age than the national average or indeed never have the possibility to attend, since they are already working in their communities of origin or forming part of a migrant labour force.

We also need to look carefully at the notion of degrees or different stages of adulthood and examine how culturally specific they may be. In industrialized societies it is now common to distinguish adult education from education for the aging and the aged. The category is based on the notion of adults who have ceased to be economically active and who no longer have reproductive roles either as individual parents or within the broader and/or extended family context. It is evident that this is not always the case, especially within the more traditional sectors of industrialized

societies, and most definitely not to the majority of the indigenous peoples of the world, where ageing is seen more as a cumulative process of acquired wisdom, and less as a segmented division of stages of economic utility.

A major problem in the notion of common adulthood based on age or in relation to formal schooling is that it does not take into account the differently gendered experiences of adulthood. By this I am not only referring to the marker, as it were, between when someone moves from being a girl to a woman, or from being a boy to a man, but rather I am questioning whether in some societies it is at all possible even to talk about men and women as a common category of adults. This is not to embrace an extreme form of cultural relativism but rather to point to some of the issues concerned with a neutral non-gendered definition of adulthood. Gender is possibly the most complex category involved in defining what we mean by an adult, for gender has to do with the most intimate and at the same time most powerful issues of personal and social identity. It has to do not only with relations between men and women with regard to their sexuality, but also with the transmission of shared identities across generations, within the family, and kinship systems, and within and between different societies. It is crucial to the definition of adulthood and logically to what we understand by adult education as a force for social change and justice. Moreover it is possibly the category that is most conditioned by different cultures. So that while in some cultures women have a symbolically powerful role, in others, they are subordinate to a dominant masculine mode.

This situation is even more complex in the context of some non-Western societies where the whole notion of kinship throws Western discourse on gender into disarray. The common categories of man and woman conditioned largely by the European model of family relations quickly disintegrate when other kinship patterns are considered. As Godelier has asked in a recent consideration of Morgan's early work on kinship: *"What is paternity in societies in which individuals used the term 'father' to designate a whole range of men who may even belong to*

generations younger than their own?" (Godelier, 1996). Furthermore, as in the case of some matrilineal societies, men may be seen to have no paternity role, since it is considered that men play no part in the conception of a child.

The relations between men and women can be vastly different in each society and each culture therefore, and we should be wary of using the categories of men, women, and adult on a universal basis, aside from Western usage of the terms.

In indigenous cultures different markers will determine different stages in the life cycle and will almost inevitably challenge some of the supposed conventional wisdom of Western society in the definition of adulthood and consequently, adult education. At the same time, however, proximity to and participation in national societies invites a mixing of categories and definitions so that it has now become timely to discuss the nature of adult education for indigenous populations as distinct from other sectors of national populations and yet at the same time as an integral part of these.

Literacy and adult education in indigenous societies

I now want to move from a discussion of *the subject* adult education to *the content* and in the context of this discussion, focus on the concept of literacy in relation to indigenous societies. Literacy has been one of the central concerns of an adult education which has sought to redress the deficiencies of the formal system of education through primary schooling. Indeed, one of the aims of national education systems has been to extend the written word firstly, through schooling and, when this has failed, through national literacy programmes. In the case of indigenous populations, however, this paradigm has made less sense, since many belong to previously agraphic cultures, where writing has been the dominant mode of communication of national languages and less so of the local indigenous languages. Moreover, many literacy programmes directed at indigenous populations have confused teaching the national or official

language with teaching adults to read and write. And indeed the whole provision of education for indigenous populations has in turn been mixed with projects of national integration aimed basically at transmitting the national language in terms of a written means of communication.

The utopic creation of the nation state with fixed and immutable boundaries that could be defended on the basis of national territory enclosing people who commonly identified themselves with the state, and who were prepared to defend it at all cost, including their lives, has in the course of history relied on education to sustain the nationalistic ideal in future generations. Challenges to national states' hegemony have been both internal and external. While external challenges have fixed more commonly on territorial claims focusing more often than not on access to natural resources, internal challenges have tended to be related to the question of alternative identities, most particularly in the case of indigenous and aboriginal groups. With some notable exceptions, national educational systems have for the most part either ignored indigenous peoples identities or made only token gestures towards their inclusion.

Traditionally, moreover, literacy was defined more as a technical skill to be imparted through national literacy programmes and less as a communicative process that may have different uses in different cultural contexts. This is a situation that has profound significance for indigenous cultures, where literacy in the previously unwritten local languages may form part of a process of revival and defence of the indigenous culture and a means towards ethnic unity, but which is, at the same time, a slow and organic process. Merely teaching people to read and write in the national or the local language makes little sense if this is not attached to a broader project of cultural and social development. The deficiency model of the national literacy campaign has proved to be unsuccessful as one looks time and time again at the low retention rate of literacy amongst those participating in national programmes, be they of indigenous origin or not.

Recently however the notion of literacy as a prerequisite for economic development, as a technical skill with profound implications for the way people's thought processes operate, or as a marker between so called literate and non-literate societies (read civilized vs primitive), has begun to give way to the discussion of specific literacies and the place of literacy as a communicative process rather than a technical skill.

Much of the critical thinking on literacy refers to literacy as a dominant form of communication and conversely to illiteracy as a form of oppression. As Paulo Freire first framed this notion, he wrote that learning to read and write is an opportunity for people to know what speaking the word really means, in other words to learn to use language as a form of self expression. Those that did not know how to read and write, he suggested, inhabit what he termed a culture of silence (Freire, 1975).

The concept of silence and muteness with regard to the dominant culture is one that pervades much thinking on the relation between ethnic minorities and national states, between the different genders, and in regard to illiterates living in a world dominated by the written word and educational qualification.

However what is at issue is not so much the ability to read and write as a technical skill, but rather the question of language itself and the way language is used, in other words, language in its diverse forms as communicative processes of which literacy forms just one part. Access and competency within these communicative processes are issues at the core of the adult education debate. And yet in many societies in the developing world, and most significantly in many indigenous cultures, literacy is marginal to the communicative needs of most people. The oral tradition may be infinitely more complex and more relevant to the particular society's central concerns and literacy may be perceived as an external addition, useful but not essential, of symbolic rather than real value.

Much has been written on the relationship between language and power and indeed most popular education theory now rests on the

assumption that adults must be educated in their own language and through their own linguistic expression which in turn comes from their own experience. While the fundamental assumptions behind these concepts of experiential learning are indeed still valid, they have to be qualified by current criticism of this approach which sees it as too limited. For by focusing exclusively on learners' experience it has been argued that there is a danger of simply reinforcing existing knowledge rather than creating or recreating new ideas. And this is indeed the challenge that faces many adult education projects in the context of indigenous societies. For if the societies and cultures of the indigenous peoples of the world are rich in content, communication and experience, with a strong and creative oral tradition, then what is possibly to be gained by molding these into some external system of transmitting knowledge through adult education?

This is not to deny the case for culturally relevant education drawing on the resources of the particular cultures but rather to argue also for a broader vision, in which the indigenous point of view can and should enrich the more global vision. Major issues that face societies in general such as environmental threats or AIDS prevention to mention just two that cut across culturally specific notions of knowledge, since they are both issues thrown up by what we now loosely term the risk society, need the context of adult education to be explored and resolved. And experiential learning does not necessarily provide the framework for dealing with broader issues.

The focus on the exclusive relation of literacy with power and hence empowerment has tended to shift the attention away from the underlying causes of social injustice and reinforce the dominant ideology with regard to the worthlessness of the unschooled and the illiterate. As adult educators we should be constantly aware of how unwittingly we may fall into the trap of de-qualifying people who are not literate. In research which I carried out among illiterates in Mexico who had just registered in the national system of adult education for literacy classes, they variously expressed their illiteracy in terms of silence. It was common for them to express self-

exclusion by denying their right or capacity for expression and using their body as a metaphor for social deformation. They described themselves as blind, deaf or dumb and on many occasions compared themselves to animals without the use of speech. Ironically the very system of adult education which was proposing a solution to their problem, that is, their illiteracy, was also at the core of its creation, that is the validation and recognition of literacy as the superior mode of communication (King, 1994).

Indeed there is still a tendency in the official literature on illiteracy at both national and international levels to refer to it as some kind of social disease to be eradicated or eliminated in the same way as malaria or tuberculosis, further fomenting the notion of the illiterate as socially diseased. Masculine military language abounds moreover. "Campaigns" are mounted, there is a "fight spearheaded against illiteracy" seen as the enemy of civilization. Most of the world's illiterates today are women, ironically enough.

Gender features significantly in the complex interplay between power, literacy and education and needs to be critically examined. There continues to be a gender gap between male and female literacy rates internationally and that widens considerably when one takes into account only indigenous peoples, where traditionally women have had more restricted access to the educational system. And there is a significant correlation between women's poverty and women's illiteracy. According to the Human Development Report published in 1996 (UNDP) of 1.3 billion people living in poverty, 70 per cent are women. Similarly of the world's population only 17% of men are illiterate as compared to 29% of women. In statistics which report that in Mexico, Guatemala and Peru alone 80% of the poor are of indigenous origin, although we do not have the exact figures by gender, if these follow international trends, we would have a situation whereby the majority of these country's poor are indigenous women without access to the education system.

We need as adult educators to be aware of these contradictions and to understand the symbolic processes through which we may reproduce rather than resolve inequities. We need also to challenge ourselves as to the new role that adult education is beginning to play in what we broadly term civil society.

This is nowhere more evident than in relation to the indigenous populations of the world. The imposition of a model of social, cultural and economic development that has had little to do with the goals and aspirations of the majority of the world's poor is now being challenged as communities and whole societies begin to propose alternatives to the dominant development paradigm. The developing use of writing in many previously unwritten languages, the revalidation of indigenous cultures and the central role these are beginning to play on the world's stage where previously they had been excluded or derided are key features of the new international civil society which is taking place. Finally, the creation of new kinds of indigenous organizations concerned with challenging not only models of economic development, but also political systems which have consistently excluded them provide a rich possibility for redefining adult education in the context of indigenous populations.

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CHAPTER 3

LINGUISTIC RIGHTS AND THE ROLE OF INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES IN ADULT EDUCATION

Utta von Gleich

Introduction

Until quite recently, adult education for indigenous peoples was a marginal theme among the official concerns regarding educational reform. In Latin America it was basically limited to literacy courses for indigenous adults as well as training courses aimed at practical achievements in communal life. New educational proposals emerged in the eighties. Minimal skills were taught through different modalities in an intensive elementary school process.

At the same time, to a large extent with the support of non-governmental organizations, indigenous organizations themselves have set up training courses based on their community needs. However, programme and project evaluations do not consider the use of indigenous languages in any of these activities. In general, State institutions assume indigenous adults are proficient in the official language and, therefore, offer training courses in the dominant language only. Local indigenous languages are only used in activities organized by non-governmental organizations or the indigenous communities themselves, and even then, they tend to be used mostly by indigenous women. Official guidelines do not favour the use of indigenous languages in adult education for indigenous peoples. There is no clear recommendation to reinforce indigenous languages through their functional use. There is no reflection on bilingual strategies in adult education and training either.

In addition, responsibility for measures taken by the State regarding training and professional education is divided among different ministries. There is a very low degree of coordination among the various social

services the State offers, most of which do not reach the most marginal sector of society: indigenous peoples.

In contrast with this kind of education fragmented into specializations, indigenous communities use holistic conceptions of education based on their own view of the universe as well as on the socialization phases within their own culture. The indigenous conception of adulthood does not automatically coincide with the interpretation of the Western educational system which may lead to culturally inadequate proposals (see discussion in Linda King's paper).

In this context, it is understandable that indigenous communities should claim a greater level of participation in all forms of official education services and insist on having the right to develop their own teaching institutions and modalities.

Three facts are new in the claims of the indigenous peoples:

Firstly, they are claiming the right to use and revitalize their own languages and cultures and at the same time have access to the dominant languages. Secondly, they are well aware that their oral cultures and traditions, which still fulfil their community needs, are a world historical heritage. Thirdly, they acknowledge their insertion into the world as a whole and into the corresponding States, and thus claim access to the knowledge and skills they need in order to participate in public life. They are thus motivated to participate in democratic societies.

In the pages that follow, I will attempt to analyze to what extent Latin American governments have legally acknowledged the linguistic and educational claims of indigenous peoples and then laid the foundations for strategies for bilingual education in order to avoid indigenous languages falling out of use in education.

In regards to the term "indigenous peoples", I am using the definition found in ILO Convention 169. *"cultural and political entities with a*

historical trajectory that have a right to self-determination and to have control over their own political, economic, cultural and linguistic future".

As far as education is concerned, I would like to emphasize on article 27 of Convention 169 which stipulates that education policies must respect specific needs and incorporate indigenous peoples' history, knowledge, value systems and other social, economic and cultural aspirations. Furthermore, governments should acknowledge the right indigenous peoples have to establish their own educational institutions so long as they comply with minimum standards of responsible administration in the field of education in close consultation with the peoples themselves. They must also have access to the funds they need. Since many Latin American countries have ratified Convention 169[1], there is a favourable situation for its being applied to adult education for indigenous peoples or for demanding that it in fact be applied. It is thus necessary to define an explicit linguistic policy in order to satisfy specific language needs in each country and to articulate it with education policies.

Language, the human capacity to express thoughts and act (i.e. our cultural heritage), to categorize them into different languages, document and transmit them from one generation to another, either orally or in writing, is a unique human resource. There is a very close link between

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[1] Convention 169 has been ratified by the following Latin American countries: Mexico (1990), Colombia (1991), Bolivia (1991), Argentina (national law status), Costa Rica (1993), Paraguay (1993), Peru (1994), Honduras (1994 - national law status), Guatemala (1996 with amendments), Brazil (under discussion). Brazil, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Haiti, Panama and the Dominican Republic are among the Latin American States that had ratified Convention 107, but have not yet ratified Convention 169.

language and culture. From a diachronic perspective, a culture without a language of its own cannot last long (Woodbury, 1993). To lose the language that specifically corresponds to a culture, implies setting out on a process of cultural change which could well lead to its own destruction or disappearance.

This does not contradict synchronic self-evaluation by individuals who feel that culturally-speaking they belong to a specific cultural group although they may not necessarily be proficient in the corresponding language. These cases may be due to cultural changes, or more often to cultural domination exerted by majority groups (the well-known processes of imposed or instigated cultural assimilation). So long as the individual or group feel the loss, there is still a chance that the language may be revived.

Language, in its various individual expressions is the most essential, useful and efficient communication tool in education. Without successful communication, neither young people nor adults can possibly learn in any educational modality. Successful communication (the notion of *Verständigung* in Habermas) is a challenge leading us straight to the first point: to analyze the situation of communication within indigenous peoples in their corresponding States. Who understands who? And who has to and wants to communicate with whom? How many and which languages are necessary to guarantee successful communication among citizens? I thus suggest we deal with the linguistic approach to education/training from an intercultural and democratic communication perspective.

Universal linguistic rights, laws and policies

The recent Universal Declaration of Language Rights signed in Barcelona in June, 1996 considers the right to the mother tongue as a basic right. In its article 3, it claims the following rights:

- to learn one's own language and culture;
- to have access to cultural services; and

- to equal presence in the mass media of the group's language and culture.

Its general principles stipulate as follows:

Article 10:

All language communities are legally equal.

Article 15:

Any language community, within its territory, has a right to use its own language as an official language.

Article 17.1:

Any language community has a right to obtain all official documentation in its own language (symbolic value).

Section II on Education further states:

Article 23:

1. Education must help promote the language and cultural self-expression capacity of the territory where it is taught.
2. Education must help preserve and develop the language spoken by the community in the territory where it is taught.

Article 24:

All language communities have a right to decide to what extent their language is to be present as a vehicle language and object of study, at all levels of education in their territory: pre-school, elementary, secondary, technical and professional school, university and adult education system.

Article 25:

All language communities have a right to have access to the human and material resources they need in order to achieve the desired degree of presence of their own language at all educational levels in their own

territory: properly trained teachers, appropriate educational methods, handbooks, funds for equipment and locations, traditional and innovative technologies.

Article 26:

All language communities have a right to a form of education which enables their members to learn the languages linked to their own cultural tradition, such as sacred or literary languages used in the past as habitual languages as well as the best command possible of any other language they wish to learn.

Both the Barcelona Declaration and the Convention 169 in broad terms guarantee the use of the first language for educational purposes, but, where can we find guidelines to ensure the systematic teaching of second and third languages? It is my opinion that the concept of bi- and multilingualism has still not received enough attention. The Declaration mainly focuses on the protection of community language rights in their own territory (as first and official languages), but it does not stipulate the right to learn official languages as second languages in a systematic way, nor does it consider the rights of individuals or minority language groups migrating for employment.

Language policies and legislation as an official framework for language use in education

Any claim for linguistic rights must be based on objective data related to mono- and multilingual practices and intercultural communication demands. In other words, it is necessary to have:

- A brief profile of the multilingual level of the education unit that is being planned (at state, national, social and community level): geographic presence and distribution of the languages and their

speakers, type and degree of multilingualism, state and degree of standardization of the contact languages, development of the written form, literary documentation, materials to back up the learning process, such as dictionaries, grammar books, anthologies, literature, and so on.

To realistically appreciate the use of different languages in education, we must analyze the language composition of the units of educational planning, considering the following elements:

- a linguistic profile at a macro level (State multilingualism in global figures) and at a regional level in order to be able to cooperate with educational planning (see the two-volume study "Bolivia Plurilingüe", 1996); and specifically
- the official administration of education. In this case, all the Adult Education Programmes. The individuals who are in charge of planning educational programmes for indigenous adults must be evaluated: both students and teachers, their degree and type of bi- or multilingualism, as well as the network of non-governmental organizations that offer adult education, and particularly the participatory representatives of the indigenous peoples themselves.

Multilingual States usually define or should define the (hierarchical) official relation between the languages co-existing in their territory in official documents (constitutions, education laws, etc.). This language policy is subdivided into two main interdependent activities: First, status planning and use domains of a language, i.e. normalization and secondly, corpus planning (standardization, graphication, vocabulary expansion, modernization, development of the written form, development of a written literature), i.e. standardization.

Official languages in Latin America and in most countries of the so-called Third World are usually stipulated by the Constitution. An official language is the communication tool a government decrees for all State issues, both within the country and for the communication with other States. In countries in which multilingualism is acknowledged, different languages have been recognized as official languages, i.e. they receive co-official status. This co-official status often has regional restrictions, in which case we refer to the principle of territoriality (the new Colombian Constitution for example, applies this very same principle and in Latin America, Nicaragua is another key example of complete linguistic and cultural autonomy).

The first challenge the State faces in language planning is to determine the status of the languages existing within its territory in a democratic and participatory way. It is no easy task, as can be appreciated throughout the history of language conflicts in the world behind which can be found power conflicts within the State itself.

Several options exist:

- to use all indigenous and colonial languages as both official and national languages and of course in teaching as well (equality for all);

- to use a packet of languages: one or more indigenous languages together with one or more exogenous languages (colonial European languages) as is the case in India, Africa and Asia (complementary functions);

- to use one of the colonial languages (Spanish or Portuguese) as an official language, as has been the case in Latin America up to the eighties (linguistic domination).

In the second option we would have to analyze constitutional regulations, i.e. the implementation and social use of constitutional laws. Education, Public Administration, Law and the Mass Media are the four language use areas of most importance to the functional conservation and revitalization of a language (see v. Gleich , 1989, 1994).

Unfortunately we must acknowledge that although the Latin American democratic constitutions since the eighties do respect language, culture and ethnic pluralism, regulation takes its time and when application decrees are not stipulated, the law does not apply.

Considering the main multiple language use sectors, the educational system constitutes a rather favourable niche for the use of indigenous languages. Since the sixties, thanks to the UNESCO recommendation to preferably use the mother tongue in early education, we have seen a considerable opening up which made the first transition bilingual education projects possible. In the eighties, these projects became bilingual education projects facing the challenge of conserving the first language as well as learning a second one. The nineties have considerably broadened the challenge to include interculturality and since then most projects have adopted the name of bilingual intercultural education in order to offer two-way modalities, i.e., interculturality for all the learners of a country and bilingualism depending on more specific socio-linguistic needs. However, we must acknowledge that early or basic education in most countries, at least in Latin America, did not expand sufficiently to adult education for youth and least of all to most illiterate indigenous women.

Going back to the term co-officiality, it is perhaps appropriate to look at the case of the Peruvian 1993 Constitution which stipulates in its article 48: *"The official languages are: Spanish as well as Quechua, Aymara and the other native languages defined by law in the areas where they prevail"*.

This law is extremely ambiguous. It lacks a definition of what it considers as an area: does it refer to a region or an administrative unit? And what about the other native languages defined by law? Finally, it clearly

discriminates against minority languages in numerical terms in relation to Spanish. This contradicts the law of "Equality vis-a-vis the Law" in its article 2, paragraph 2: "*Nobody can be discriminated against because of their his origins, race, sex, language, religion, opinion, economic condition or any other reason*".

It also makes it seem as if intercultural bilingual education in itself is not a challenge but rather a tool to eradicate illiteracy. According to article 17, paragraph 3: *"The State guarantees the eradication of illiteracy. It also promotes bilingual and intercultural education depending on the characteristics of each zone. It preserves the country's cultural and linguistic manifestations. It promotes national integration."*

In other Latin American countries diverse situations exist:

In *Nicaragua* for example, native languages enjoy official regional status based on the 1980 Autonomy Statute (decree 571 of the revolutionary government) renewed in 1994 by the language law stipulating ethnic groups should be educated in their own mother tongue. *Colombia* (1991, Title 1, articles 7 and 10) also acknowledges cultural and ethnic pluralism as well as the territorial co-officiality of its indigenous languages.

In *Guatemala* however, cultural and linguistic pluralism has yet to be acknowledged constitutionally. It is to be hoped that the ratification of ILO Convention 169 will contribute to broaden and deepen the long-lasting tradition of Mayan-Indigenous education experiences.

In 1992, *Mexico* made changes to its Constitution which now reads in Title 1, chapter 1, article 4:

> *The Mexican nation has a pluricultural composition originally sustained in its indigenous peoples. The Law will protect and promote the development of their languages, cultures, uses, customs, resources, specific forms of social*

organization and will guarantee them effective access to State jurisdiction.

Finally, in its new 1992 constitution, *Paraguay* also acknowledges the official nature of Guarani together with Spanish. For basic education it prescribes the following: Article 140:

Concerning languages: Paraguay is a pluricultural and bilingual country. Spanish and Guarani are official languages. The Law is to establish the modalities of use of each language. Indigenous languages, as well as the languages of other minorities, are part of the Nation's cultural heritage.

Corpus planning is a permanent task of the corresponding linguistic community and the society/state. Without going into greater details, some basic questions must be asked:

- Can economically marginal linguistic communities (in this case indigenous peoples) perform this task? What resources do they have? What resources do they receive from the State? Do they have adequate technicians and researchers? What does the constitutional stipulation "to preserve cultures and languages" imply?

I will not go into detail regarding the complex work of corpus planning. However, I would like to point out that many projects up to present have not overcome the phase of designing alphabets or writing elementary school materials. In spite of the official recognition of many unified alphabets in Latin America, there is still an unprofessional ideological interest of certain so-called linguists or people with vested interests who are causing damage to the standardization processes of

indigenous languages with a high level of dialectization and are thus hindering the advancement of their written use. Alphabet design is a rather simple task for specialists, but it is not that easy for elementary school teachers or mere native speakers to experiment in this field without professional technical support. Speakers of oral language should not be exposed to permanent experiments while they are learning how to read and write. In addition to an alphabet and a spelling system, it is absolutely necessary to focus on the development of special terminologies for adult education and training, dictionaries, consultation books and encyclopedias, among others. In other words, it is essential to have educational documentation of indigenous knowledge and their languages.

Language education for indigenous adults in multilingual contexts

Adult education for indigenous peoples moves between two main goals: successful integration into society as a whole and the preservation of their cultural roots. In practice, successful integration corresponds to integration in the job market and should consider the rights of young indigenous people to work outside the traditional subsistence economy. Transferring this challenge to education, we arrive at the following strategy: bi- or multilingualism and interculturality within a labour-oriented curriculum.

However, we must admit that many indigenous people in Latin America have not reached a satisfactory and balanced level of bilingualism for their own personal development and who practise a type of semilingualism (T. Skutnabb Kangas 1976, 1981, 1994).

If we take into account the high levels of school desertion among indigenous children at an early age, it is not surprising they have no command over either language. We face a doubly lacking bilingualism: the use of a variant of the dominant language discriminated with regard to the standard, together with the use of a variant of the native language, a standard variant of the indigenous language being very often inexistent.

Another argument to explain semilingualism is the theory of interdependence between the development of first and second language skills (Cummins, 1979) which claims that insufficient curricular development of the mother tongue (L1) before learning L2 produces a relatively low level of proficiency in both languages. Thus the claim to transcend a certain "*threshold level*" in L1 before introducing a second language. Otherwise, the student will not be able to mobilize transference strategies from L1 to L2. It is precisely the economizing strategy to transfer already learnt skills (reading and writing, linguistic reflexivity, unconscious notions of grammar) that to a certain extent compensates for the effort to learn several languages.

The consequences of this phenomenon can be found in adult education for indigenous peoples. Apparently, adults understand and speak the dominant language properly, but when they have to learn through written texts, semantic perception deficiencies as well as other deficiencies which are difficult to remedy begin to occur.

To sum up, it must be noted that there are differences between language learning by children, young people and adults. In general, children learn more easily than adults. But teenagers (from 12 to 15 years of age) go through a stage of easy learning (excepting native speaker pronunciation) thanks to their cognitive maturity and to their broad command of their mother tongue, if they live in stimulating psycho-cultural conditions. Second language learning by adults also evolves in a rather systematic way (with well defined grammatical development phases) thanks to innate language acquisition device (LAD) with an implicational scale. It is, nevertheless, under the influence of the first language (the so-called deviations, interferences, spontaneous structural loans in the learning of a second language). In planning adult education projects it is essential to make a language diagnosis of the individual, the group and the village as well as to respect the aspirations and goals of the linguistic community itself taking into account the conditions of the surrounding society. The key

question is: Does the linguistic community really want and need functional and sustainable bilingualism for all at an oral and written level and are the implications regarding educational and general social support activities known?

The opportunity to achieve linguistic re-vitalization does not depend on legislation, but rather on the attitude of the linguistic community as well as on language use itself. A favourable linguistic legislation is a necessary condition but it is not a tool to implement bilingualism in all social sectors. The attitude towards interculturality of the surrounding society is of course another psycho-social condition. Bolivian vice-president, V. H. Cárdenas, was right in demanding *"the whole of society show a respectful and peaceful intercultural attitude"* in his speech at the Indigenous Fund's first general assembly in Santa Cruz in 1995.

As far as the establishment of educational goals is concerned, two main arguments can be identified: educational foundations (successful academic performance) and cultural-linguistic foundations. A merely academic recommendation would be to use the language with the widest level of understanding and command among the students and which is of greater use for work purposes as the teaching language (vehicle language) even if it does not always turn out to be an indigenous language. The second argument is the preservation of cultures and languages which are either vulnerable or under threat in order to thus reinforce national identity. Both these goals are not intrinsically contradictory, but they do demand a curricular methodology which relates to each group in cultural and linguistic terms.

Intercultural Bilingual Education Models:

In Latin America, differentiated functional uses, combination of languages in contact, and level differentiation of the four language skills (speaking, listening, reading and writing) are almost exclusive of formal education (elementary and secondary schooling). Multilingual education for

indigenous adults is still a field to be explored. The learning goals related to different skills (speaking and understanding, reading and writing) in each language may vary. Depending on group needs, a large number of combinations are possible, such as:

a) Use and teaching of the four skills in L1, but in L2 only reading comprehension for monolinguals in L1 if they are not in contact with L2 speakers or in case it is a language which is no longer spoken (such as Latin or classical Yucateco);
b) Use and teaching of the four skills in L1, but only three skills in L2: listening, speaking and reading (this is recommended for cases in which there are two different written forms and when there is little written contact with the L2 group);
c) The teaching of an indigenous language as an L2 (speaking and understanding only) as ethnic-cultural language and use and teaching of the four skills in L1 (for young indigenous people who already use a dominant language, either Spanish or Portuguese, as their L1 and want to rediscover their culture through their own language.

Considering the different degrees and levels of bilingualism in adult education for indigenous peoples, we arrived at a general but flexible recommendation: to select and promote the most necessary skills of each language thus respecting the communities' right to make their own decisions and at the same time consider time availability for adult education of those already inserted in the labour market without disregarding the basic principles of learning and the interdependence of the four skills.

Curricular contents related to culture and age group

As has already been mentioned, adult education is an open field depending on the needs of the indigenous community. However, two groups can be differentiated:

1. All those formal and informal courses/programmes aimed at reaching the same level as formal basic and secondary education. These courses are subjected to coordination with official programmes, although they may be organized by independent indigenous educational institutions. The curriculum must articulate the minimum official prerequisites with key contents of the indigenous culture.

2. All the other programmes, such as life-long learning, continuous education, civic education in order to disseminate and learn a citizen's rights and duties, specific education for women, health and environmental education, professional courses to improve the indigenous economy (from leadership formation to training in marketing systems).

It is only in the last decade that special attention is paid to adult education for indigenous peoples. It is thus sometimes difficult to get official understanding, acknowledgment and support for civic, cultural, labour training and educational activities.

Conclusions

Bilingualism or multilingualism in adult education in bilingual contexts is a need and an indispensable condition for socio-economic development in Latin America. Indigenous languages and cultures are thus strengthened. The fact that a person is proficient in more than one language, increases the opportunities for social and occupational mobility. Command of a regional/continental language guarantees and favours intercultural communication among indigenous peoples as well as international solidarity. Multilingual curricular design must be based on *in situ* linguistic

conditions. It must also be coherent with the educational objectives of the indigenous communities and the surrounding society.

The oral nature of indigenous languages does not constitute a barrier to its use as a teaching language. The complementarity of oral languages with a written system is a cultural change well known to other cultures. The development of a written literature (written texts) in traditionally oral languages is a cultural process originating in new communication needs. It is feasible, but it takes time and requires social backing apart from financial and legislative support. It is the indigenous communities themselves who must define the curricular contents of adult education and training based on the principle of self-government. These contents must serve to improve living conditions in all aspects.

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PART II

NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICIES AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

CHAPTER 4

YOUTH AND ADULT EDUCATION AND LITERACY FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN LATIN AMERICA
Guatemala, Honduras, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia

Teresa Valiente Catter

Introduction

The importance given to education in general in Latin America is proven by the different projects and programmes aimed at broadening parameters in order to include adult education and, within this field, literacy courses of various types (regular, formal, for children, for adults), levels (primary, secondary and higher education) and modalities (intercultural education (IE) and bilingual intercultural education (BIE). During the last 30 years, literacy courses for youth and adults have been dynamically promoted. Official and non-governmental organization (NGO) programmes have contributed to this development with their attempt to respond to the educational demands of the most marginal sectors through participatory methodologies, based on humanitarian and educational ways of thinking.

Despite this dynamism, Jose Rivero's words appearing in his book on adult education in Latin America, *Educación de adultos en América Latina*, (1995): "there is still much to be done", are still valid for all or at least most of the countries in the continent. Is it because the process is exhausted and it is necessary to reformulate ideas on adult education in general and literacy for indigenous youth and adults in particular (the theme of this article)? Or is it a question of lack of methodology, focus, systematization, or evaluation of experience, the results of which have not yet been expressed in a permanent reformulation and subsequent adjustment and application supporting a sustainable process based on the population's needs? Various answers can undoubtedly be given. It seems that literacy campaigns have become a subsidiary of the regular education system. This would reflect a lack of defined literacy and basic adult education policies

which take into account their demands and needs, using appropriate methodologies and materials. We are living in a process of globalization and of decentralization of responsibilities which runs the risk of covering up the differences under the cloak of misunderstood consensus.

Rivero's analysis is based on UNESCO/CEPAL's proposals and each country's response to them with their own priorities and specificities. These responses try to "*ensure universal access to the cultural codes of modernity, understood as the set of knowledge and skills needed in order to participate in public life and to unfold in modern society in a productive way. It is specified that the acquisition of these skills and knowledge can only be effective through revaluing one's own cultural identity as a starting point that enables the global advancements of science and technology to be assimilated in a selective and practical way. [For this purpose], policies must be applied in two different fields at the same time. On the one hand, primary education coverage must be universalized by introducing changes in the modalities of action in order to promote the learning of the main skills needed to unfold in society. At the same time, (on the other hand) specific education and training campaigns must be implemented so as to ensure that all adults have at least a minimum level of basic skills.*" (in Rivero, 1993: 39).

What is the importance of literacy and education for young and adult indigenous people? Why are they interested in becoming literate? How does knowing how to read and write benefit them? These are some of the questions we are asking. Our reflections are based on case studies carried out in Guatemala, Honduras, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. These countries in which vernacular languages are spoken have developed or are developing literacy and education programmes for young and adult indigenous people. Systematizing these experiences will help us to understand this complex situation, thus committing us to reformulate our focus on the importance of literacy and education for young and adult indigenous people as well as its relation with both the national education

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system in general and the area dedicated to vernacular-speaking populations. These experiences also point to trends regarding formal education for young and adult indigenous people and particularly in the field of teacher training for different levels, such as bilingual intercultural primary school and literacy courses through bilingual intercultural education. This shows the importance that is being given to training and specialization, the recognition of which is still pending because of a lack of clearer policies to formulate and articulate the different levels of the national system of education. Such is the case of the Mizque "Pedagogical Colleges" in Cochabamba, Bolivia through the CEDEAGRO programme (Luykx, et al., 1996: 158-160) in charge of training indigenous women as bilingual teachers for bilingual intercultural pre-primary and primary school.

Experience will enable us to reflect on the perspectives of literacy for young and adult indigenous people within the global context of multilingual and pluricultural societies. Based on the papers that have been presented, we ask: Who is in charge of literacy training for young and adult indigenous people? On what principles is it based?

What projects exist? Who are the trainers? How are literacy programmes implemented? What materials are used? What importance is given to language and culture? What is understood by interculturality? How are language, participation and gender issues addressed? The concepts of language and culture are no longer alien to the various literacy programmes and initiatives that are being developed in the different regions involved in this seminar. The activities related to literacy and education for young and adult indigenous peoples constitute an archipelago of initiatives basically responding to immediate priorities without considering the mid- and long-term. The articulation with different education forms, levels and modalities is not considered either. In this context, we do not yet know the effects of literacy and education for adult indigenous peoples and its relation to retention and performance of school children, girls and boys.

A global and differentiated conception of education and literacy methodologies and purposes for indigenous peoples is still lacking in bilingual intercultural education (BIE). The case of Guatemala is a good example. The proposal, however, is more interested in solving the low levels of school attendance in order to gain admission or even re-admission to the national school system. It is mainly based on the perception of the formal school system. In Honduras, indigenous peoples are not addressed as such but rather are included among all other illiterate populations. Demands and needs are thus homogenized; another case of misunderstood consensus. Literacy programmes linked to productive projects run the risk of being isolated. In Ecuador, for example, no direct relation was found between literacy and life condition improvement, thus leading to a reformulation of the function of literacy for adults and a reflection on the need for greater emphasis on child and youth education (Soto, 1996). In Guatemala, to mention another example, the National Literacy Committee (CONALFA in Spanish) considers literacy as a way to join the formal education system since it aims at assisting a population that is not covered by formal education. Literacy for young and adult indigenous people is influenced by this view. The study on Bolivia, from a critical approach, notes that indigenous literacy is equal to the teaching of Spanish to non-Spanish speakers since the "*projects dedicated to literacy in other languages (particularly Aymara and Quechua) have not reached more than 1 or 1.5% of the population*" (Hernández, 1996). Each country responds to illiteracy differently. Even the way the problem is conceived varies with changes in education policies. The data produced by the different case studies also vary in qualitative terms since they are based on each country's specificity. A complementary study which collects more data should be undertaken in order to enable a comparative study on which to base differentiated methodological strategies in the framework of a more global conception. In Guatemala, the National Literacy Committee

(CONALFA) is an official institution founded in 1986 and integrated by the public and private sectors.

Various other NGOs are developing literacy programmes for adults linked to productive projects. Rural projects include an adult bilingual intercultural education component. Honduras has a long history of approaches to adult literacy. There is a national education plan for human and productive development for young people and adults currently being implemented by the Secretariat of Public Education. Approximately 70 projects (both educational and productive) are mentioned. Some of the productive projects include a literacy and adult education variable. The highest illiteracy rates concentrate in regions with an indigenous population. However, there is no precise figure either on indigenous population or on illiteracy. Literacy courses are given in Spanish. In Ecuador, the Department of Permanent Popular Education of the National of Bilingual Education Directorate (DINEIB) is in charge of adult education for indigeous peoples. There is a similar department in each Provincial Directorate of Bilingual Intercúltural Education. In Bolivia, to speak of adult literacy necessarily implies taking SENALEP's experience into account. SENALEP is the broadest and most significative State-run experience in education for young and adult indigenous people. SENALEP (1983-1993) has been integrated into the National Education Reform's legal and administrative structure. The Sub-Secretariat of Alternative Education, a structure which also covers special and permanent education, is in charge of coordinating literacy and education for adults at a State level. Radio Schools in Bolivia (ERBOL), a network of cultural radio programmes specifically aimed at radio education, is one of the strategies presenting positive aspects such as issues related to mother tongue use (Luykx, et al., 1996: 25).

Official programmes versus community projects: language, culture, participation and gender

How to reduce illiteracy rates is one of the main themes of education policies in each country. One of the measures taken in order to face the current economic crisis, however, is to cut social budgets down which has direct repercussions on a reduction of the share devoted to education, and particularly education and literacy programmes for indigenous young people and adults. Likewise, one of the first measures that are taken is to limit the production and updating of educational materials.

Official programmes

The study on Bolivia states that "*no funds, out of the investment being made in the National Education Reform, are specifically allotted to Adult Education*" (Luykx, et al., 1996: 21-22). Lack of continuity and sustainability of literacy programmes, one of its clearest consequences, is therefore not surprising. The disactivation of SENALEP in Bolivia is a good example of this. But, there are also other elements that must be taken into account.

Official programmes are basically characterized by aiming at quantitative coverage with roughly predetermined deadlines. The main focus is on learning to read and write. In the case of indigenous populations, official structures tend to see them as illiterate rather than indigenous people. Literacy in general thus tends to be a reproduction of formal primary school education for children since it aims at giving intensive education to those who have not been covered by the formal system so that the users may eventually continue with their studies within the formal education structures. This reveals that a global long-term conception of education is lacking as well as the vulnerability of literacy *vis-a-vis* budget and strategic measures. This is clear in the study on Ecuador which states: "*the minimal interest of the previous government (1992-96) in this national education sector is reflected in the absolute lack*

of updated official figures regarding schooling, desertion rates, grade repetition and illiteracy at a national level. However, a recent journalistic publication states that 12% of the male population and 16% of the female population are illiterate" (Soto, 1996: 3).

In this same context, we can see the opposite situation in which diversification is considered part of the struggle against poverty and the acknowledgement of regional specificities regarding language and culture. In Peru, for example, in 1995, 55 extremely poor provinces with the largest percentage of illiterate women in their own vernacular language were prioritized with bilingual intercultural literacy programmes. Within the framework of the'Education for All' Programme, the project that encouraged the female population most and gave them preferential attention was called 'Socio-Educational Development and Strengthening of Illiterate Peasant Indigenous Women' (Salvatierra Guilleán, 1996: 16). Thanks to international cooperation, an average of between 15 and 25% of the illiterate population in the departments with the highest illiteracy rates (Huancavelica, Apurimac, Ayacucho, Huánuco, Cajamarca, Cusco, the Amazon and Puno) were provided with literacy programmes. Unfortunately, there is still no information about the evaluation.

Within the framework of indigenous education in the context of national education, a pilot adult education project has been initiated in Honduras with the Chortí and Tolupan people belonging to the departments of Copán and Ocotepeque (Chortí) as well as in Montaña de la Flor in the Francisco Morazán department (Tolupan). Both projects are based on the results of a study of needs and claims that confirms the aspirations of these people to have access to an education modality that may allow them to preserve their culture and language (recovered in the case of the Chortís). Another common aspiration is to have a command of reading and writing in Spanish, considered as strategic importance to strengthen both organization and community.

The likelihood of success, however, remains to be seen since adult education was left out of the Programme to Improve the Quality Levels of Basic Education (PMCEB) so that a pilot programme devoted to the most needed indigenous population can be implemented through the National Education Programme for Native Ethnic Groups in Honduras (PRONEEAH) with a differentiated cultural approach as well as a gender approach (Lara Pinto, 1996: 63). In the context of national official programmes, it should be noted that SENALEP's educational action in Bolivia was basically addressed to Aymara-, Quechua- and Spanish-speakers in rural areas. Besides, it was agreed "*to give preference to women since they predominate among the illiterate population*" (Luykx, et al., 1996: 40).

Community projects

The study on Ecuador is an example of the inconsistent nature of indigenous participants in projects, whether official or independent. The latter are initiated by the users themselves and are typically linked to productive projects. Since 1990, indigenous communities and organizations have been losing strength in negotiating adult education for indigenous peoples. This is due not only to the increasing reduction in resources, but also to the fact that the role literacy plays within the national system is unclear. A concept of adult education is still missing. Literacy centres are becoming handicraft workshops in response to this inconsistency that turns literacy into a means to solve immediate everyday problems with short-term purposes. This is showing that literacy is far more than a process of learning how to read and write. It seems that community participation in programmes proposed by the trainer or outsiders is only relative. However, it is more active when the community itself is committed or directly involved in the programme. Whenever the users' demands are not taken into account, literacy runs the risk of turning into a spontaneous short-term proposal. It becomes vulnerable to current fashions and thus disperses

among isolated projects which are unconnected and unsustainable within a more global and differentiated social project.

The Education Programme for Women in Honduras (PAEM in Spanish) specifically aimed at prioritizing women's issues within the general situation of the peasants in Honduras (Lara Pinto, 1996:25) can be considered within the context of community projects. Likewise the Support Project for Guaraní Women in Bolivia (PAMG) aims at training and educating women to participate in the change process at a communal, regional and national level (Luykx et al., 1996: 138). Community projects are generally supported by outside sources (NGOs) focusing on grassroots work. In Bolivia, the Church, for example, plays an important role in different experiences of adult and youth education linked to agriculture as well as in women's training and education programmes in rural and urban-marginal areas.

Such is the case of CETHA, part of the Catholic Church's popular education experiences, which, through bilingual intercultural literacy activities (Jisk'a Thaki), prepares the young and adults to become community educators, prepares agricultural technicians to work at collection centres and does research (Luykx et al., 1996: 98-99). The CETHA concept, based on community participation and needs, is an experience that relates the communal literacy activities with each other as well as training and educating community members according to the community's development needs through a programme structured in four phases or paths: Bilingual Intercultural Literacy - ABI or *Jisk'a thaki* -, Intensive Primary Education - EIPA or *Taypi thaki* -, Intensive Comprehensive Education - EISA or *Jach'a thaki* - and technical specializations in agriculture, farming, handcrafts and occupations, among others - *Kamana*. It is women who mostly follow the first two paths.

Final Reflections: effects and trends

A process initiated with an approach aimed at incorporation into the formal national system can be identified at a certain stage of the history of youth and adult education and literacy in Latin America. Learning to read and write was considered a pre-condition to integration. This approach still exists. But, complex linguistic, cultural, economic and social situations are an increasing challenge to take into account the needs, claims and specificities of the populations involved in the globalization process we are facing. The risk of hiding differences under misunderstood consensus is obvious. Community projects, however, have a very important experience to contribute with. Their guidelines are based on everyday problems and the improvement of life quality. Learning to read and write thus becomes meaningful if it is linked to actual changes in life quality. Therefore, the use of the mother tongue, culture, communal participation and gender issues become part of a transversal axis crossing through all programmes. The activities undertaken can be divided into four blocks: literacy, training, education, and production of educational materials.

1) Literacy

Concentrating on learning to read and write is the main activity in adult education. We once again wonder what indigenous peoples gain by learning to read and write? What use do reading and writing have to indigenous women? TheAndean Education and Promotion Centre (CADEP) gives us an answer:"*literacy has created a space for encounter among women (. . .) that has awakened in them the wish to keep on learning, to defend their own space, to demand they be allowed to be present at communal meetings. They even want to learn more in order to be able to speak 'properly' at assemblies, and, as some of the interviewed women stated, occupy a leadership post*"(Portugal, 1996: 17).

The importance of self-esteem and re-appraisal stand out in CADEP's evaluation of the literacy project for peasant women: ". . . *the main*

achievement of this project is to have changed women's self-image. . . " (Portocarrero, 1995:51).

2) Training

It refers to:

a) Training teachers for basic subjects: reading, writing and mathematics. The basic requests are that they belong to the community and be native speakers of their mother tongue. Their previous education varies from one place to another since programmes are based on existing resources. A minimum pre-requisite is to have finished primary school.

b) Training agriculture, farming and handcraft technicians (carpenters) who may well be literacy trainers themselves. One of the selection criteria is to belong to the community or region. Selection takes place with community participation.

3) Education

Education for young and adult indigenous people does not exist as a special area in the formal system. It can be said that adult education in general, and within it literacy, play a secondary role in academic qualification. In Guatemala, however, the University plays a very important role in literacy training for indigenous vernacular-speakers. At the Linguistics Institute of the Rafael Landivar University, literacy and post-literacy programmes for the indigenous take place within the context of a process of reflection and linguistic and pedagogic work through research and promotion of indigenous languages and cultures in Guatemala and the support of national and international programmes for the creation of materials in Mayan languages. Academic discussion underlines the importance of the cultural context for literacy programmes for indigenous populations (Boletín de Lingüística, Nrs. 53, 54 and 57).

In Bolivia, the Mizque - Cochabamba "Pedagogical Colleges" Project, belonging to the CEDEAGRO programme, one of the popular education programmes the Catholic Church, is implemented in rural and urban-marginal areas and sets forth the need to prepare indigenous teachers for primary school. This would imply the scope of young and adult indigenous populations being broadened. The Bachelor's degree in Andean Linguistics and Bilingual Intercultural Education in Cuenca, Ecuador, the post-graduate course in Andean Linguistics and Education in Puno, Peru, the bilingual teacher-training in Iquitos and Yarinacocha (Peru) as well as the Regional Human Resource Training Programme in different Andean countries but based in Cochabamba, would have to be taken into account in this same context.

4) Production of Education Materials

Most projects have produced their own materials or reproduced materials belonging to other projects. Budget cuts have implied restrictions. Printed materials for literacy programmes, agro-technical and post-literacy handbooks are produced. All projects set out to first strengthen self-esteem and cultural identity. In some projects, "*materials started to crop up en route as a result of interrelations (the contradiction is that). . . indigenous issues as explicit themes or concerns are lacking*" (Portugal, 1996: 9). Portugal's study of one of the projects being implemented in the Highlands critically states that: "*There is no sign of these ideas (regarding mother tongue use as well as the importance of a cultural tradition) in textbooks nor materials used in literacy programmes nor in the testimonies the participants give. The promoters' diagnoses do not touch on the cultural theme nor do they acknowledge the obvious prevalence of Aymara in everyday life*" (Portugal, 1996: 13).

Among the limitations and reformulations of this process, we shall mention some of the trends we have identified as hypotheses:

a) A lack of clearly formulated national education policies, including adult education, results in disarticulation between the different education levels and modalities which, together with education and literacy projects for young people and adults, are increasingly cornered into narrower spaces tending to become isolated experiences.

b) It is evident that education and literacy projects for young people and adults are still conceived as teaching Spanish as a second language. Thus the role indigenous language and culture play is not clear. The general tendency is to see the illiterate, but not the indigenous, and even less so if they are in differentiated socio-cultural contexts with specific needs and demands. The concept of interculturality is unclear.

c) Literacy programmes mainly define literacy in terms of quantitative coverage expressed in statistics. Thereby, the greater the coverage, the lower the budget to be used.

d) One of the main objectives of education and literacy projects for young people and adults is to improve the life quality of the population. This implies qualitative evaluations and follow-up of the programmes and projects in operation as well as the analysis of the effect of the mothers and father who have become literate together with the variable retention/performance ofprimary school students, boys and girls.

e) Literacy in general tends to become a reproduction of primary school for children since it aims at providing intensive education to those who were not served by the formal education system. Literacy thus takes on a compensatory nature.

f) In many projects, trainers lack preparation. In most projects and/or programmes their qualification as trainers seems insufficient to guarantee continuity and sustainability. Moreover the personnel tends to be irregular and unstable.

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CHAPTER 5

THE EDUCATIONAL REALITY OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF THE MESOAMERICAN REGION[1]

Vilma Duque

In 1994, the Rigoberta Menchú Tum Foundation signed an educational agreement with the United Nations Education, Science and Culture Organization (UNESCO) aimed at implementing educational programmes and projects with the indigenous peoples of the Meso-American region. Within this context, the need was felt to undertake research into the endogenous educational experiences of Indigenous Peoples and the relation between exogenous education and its effects on the community's social, economic, and cultural development. Endogenous education is understood as the traditional way of transmitting knowledge and of developing useful skills based on the family and community environments, whereas exogenous education is the education offered through formal, non-formal and informal education services.

As a first step towards designing specific strategies responding to the challenges set forth in this agreement, the Rigoberta Menchú Tum Foundation, in coordination with regional institutions and organizations with common interests[2], is making a diagnosis of the educational reality of

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[1] This paper was presented at the Seminar in Oaxaca by Rigoberto Vásquez Gonzales

[2] Among these organizations are universities such as CESMECA/UNICACH and UNACH from Chiapas, Mexico, the University Landivar and San Carlos of Guatemala, the University URACCAN of Nicaragua. Among the non-governmental organizations the following ones are cooperating: Kichin Kojonel, Sociedad el

the indigenous peoples and other native peoples of the Highlands of Chiapas (Mexico), Guatemala, Belize, El Salvador, Honduras and the Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua (DIREPI in Spanish). The aim of this diagnosis is to find out how different educational programmes operating in the areas inhabited by indigenous peoples are implemented, and to identify the education needs of the indigenous and Garifuna peoples through a wide-scale process of consultation.

The countries in this area are characterized by a permanent increase in poverty levels basically due to the impact of the economic readjustment policies as well as to the internal wars that have affected the region. Between 1989 and 1994, poverty increased from 66% to 80% in Guatemala.

El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua showed similar trends. More than 12 million people live in abject poverty in the territory covered by this diagnosis.

The educational situation in these countries presents complex problems derived from these same structural dynamics. Illiteracy rates vary between 30% in Chiapas, 44% in Guatemala, 25% in Honduras and El Salvador and 22% in Nicaragua. Educational problems reveal problems of internal efficiency since under 43% of the students enrolled for the first year in the region conclude their elementary studies. Although these figures represent a great challenge for the regional governments, the educational situation of the indigenous peoples turns out to be even more critical since illiteracy reaches between 50 and 66% of the adult population. More than half of the indigenous adults of the aforementioned region lack education of any kind.

Adelanto, Cecma in Guatemala, Kekchi Belize, Conpa in Honduras and Rais in El Salvador.

The geographic region covered by the diagnosis comprises two wide geographic areas. The former comprises the mesoamerican Mayan region covering the Chiapas Highlands of Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, El Salvador and Western Honduras. The other region is constituted by the Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua inhabited by indigenous peoples and other native peoples.

The area covered by the study has a multilingual and pluricultural dimension with 36 indigenous groups, most of whom speak Mayan and Misumalpana languages and a population of Mestizo, Afro-Caribbean and foreign origins. Based on available data, it is estimated that the indigenous population of this area is higher than 6.5 million people most of whom live in rural areas.

Within the context of preparing for the diagnostic research, five problems shared by exogenous educational processes that will be studied in the different countries to be consulted were defined. These issues were raised by professionals and theoreticians involved in education and will be a guideline to analyse practice. The following are found among the identified problems:

1. Limited implementation of bilingual education.
2. Inadequate curricular contents of the school programmes.
3. Problems related to current educational practices.
4. Splits between the educational system and the community.
5. Limited access to secondary and higher education as well as extracurricular education in rural indigenous areas.

1. Limited implementation of bilingual education

Bilingual education is understood as an educational programme in which teaching takes place in two different languages. In the Latin American context, this usually implies the use of the national or dominating language and an indigenous language. This method was originally set forth within the

framework of indigenous policies as an effective way of integrating indigenous people into the national social project.

Formal education in Latin American indigenous areas has developed according to the assimilationist model which postulates cultural and linguistic homogeneity as a prerequisite to construct national identity and social progress. Schools have therefore been in charge of incorporating indigenous people to "civilised" society through the direct method of teaching Spanish in which teaching is done exclusively in Spanish. Education sciences have defined these programmes as immersion programmes. This method has yielded very poor results.

The first bilingual education programmes implanted in the region during the last 30 years take advantage of the mother tongue (L1) during the first school years to teach indigenous students how to read and write as well as how to speak Spanish. Once this stage was concluded, the indigenous language was no longer used and the children would receive the rest of their education in Spanish (L2). This transition model aimed at finally implementing monolingual education in the official dominating language.

In spite of the pluralistic approach of some of the contemporary programmes, the current panorama of the region keeps reflecting the experience of indigenous education inherited from previous decades geared to the exclusive use of the second language and an attitude of indifference or contempt towards indigenous languages. The intercultural bilingual education system, as it is currently implemented, is lacking a serious approach to interculturality and is basically addressed to indigenous populations.

Preliminary evidence observed in Chiapas, Guatemala and the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua suggests that most bilingual programmes suffer from serious problems when they are put into practice. Indigenous languages are studied and used in their written form in a very small number of classrooms. Indigenous language use is in most cases reduced to the use of

the spoken form to facilitate teacher-student communication, and to translate academic materials written in Spanish. On the other hand, the teaching of Spanish as a second language suffers from serious methodological problems. Most indigenous children graduating from bilingual programmes can hardly handle Spanish.

Among some of the problems identified in the implementation of bilingual programmes, it was found that most of the indigenous teachers working in the region had been educated according to the substractive bilingual model typically contemptuous of indigenous languages and cultures. Many bilingual teachers are not acquainted with the graphic representation system nor with the grammatical structure of their mother tongue.

The training and updating programmes for teachers do not recognise the need to prepare teachers in linguistics. In addition, a large number of non-indigenous teachers are responsible for implementing bilingual education programmes addressing indigenous populations. It has frequently been noted that indigenous teachers are sent to communities where the language they know is not spoken. Paradoxically, it is the teachers who have been assimilated by Western urban culture and have lost their connection to their home communities who tend to be responsible for implementing programmes aimed at rescuing indigenous culture and appreciating it anew.

Apart from the problem of staffing these programmes, it has also been observed that many communities reject bilingual education as a result of the socio-linguistic dynamics which grant a lower status to indigenous languages vis-a-vis the hegemonic culture as well as of the inability of the teachers to explain the purpose of teaching in both languages to the parents.

There is a strong consensus between social and educational sciences suggesting that using the mother tongue at school within the framework of a bilingual maintenance programme, strengthens the students' intellectual and linguistic development, reinforces their identity, and invigorates them

to enforce/practice their cultural rights. It is necessary to point out that knowledge of their mother tongue and the use they make of it at the age of six does not suffice. Recent studies show that at least 12 years are needed in order to effectively dominate the mother tongue.

2. Inadequate curricular contents of the school programmes

By curricular contents we understand the series of skills, knowledge, attitudes and values that are to be taught through the educational process. The curricular contents that are dealt with in educational programmes must be organized in a plan and programme of studies that may allow teachers to develop their classes coherently. Various empirical studies on educational quality in Latin America show the positive effect the use of a well-designed curriculum has over learning.

In the eighties, different educational proposals appeared in Latin America. Apart from a linguistically appropriate educational approach, they also looked upon reorienting crucial contents of the school programmes in order to include elements of indigenous cultures. Contemporary programmes of Mayan education and intercultural bilingual education are aimed at maintaining and developing not only the languages, but also other expressions of indigenous cultures such as their values, customs, productive practices, knowledge and aspirations as indigenous peoples. The institutions that have made efforts of this kind face different conceptual and operative obstacles in order to place indigenous cultural contents at the core of the educational project. As a result, many of the teachers working on these programmes, even those committed with reclaiming indigenous culture, do not have the resources to back their curricular decisions, thus leaving the development of the programme and the students' learning to chance. The curricular disarticulation of the cultural component contributes to the limited and superficial treatment indigenous cultures receive in some programmes.

The education laws of some of the network countries restrict the development of culturally relevant programmes. In the case of Mexico, the Constitution and the General Education Law demand that the curriculum of all state schools have a nationalistic and civic orientation. This approach is in contradiction with the objectives of the official bilingual programme aimed at consolidating the ethnic identity and the cultural values of indigenous children.

Up to now most of the programmes including indigenous languages and culture within their curricula are addressed to indigenous students only without involving mestizos. To construct peace and respect for diversity demands/requires that society as a whole participates in the benefits of these programmes. This implies acknowledging the existence of various cultures and the fact that they all have the right to develop and reproduce in a relationship of mutual respect.

3. Problems related to current educational practices

At present many of the educational practices in Latin American countries do not contribute to the students' learning and far less to their capacity to transform reality. Among the most common practices, teaching emphasises the conventional class structure during which the students are limited to copying and hardly have opportunities to ask questions. Reading and memorizing texts hardly gives them the chance to actively work with the materials. Numerous studies have demonstrated that the lack of learning by the students and the resulting high failure and desertion levels, are phenomena induced by practices of this kind. It has been proven that hegemonic practices in the classroom reinforce passivity and dependence and radically reduce learning opportunities.

These practices are the exact opposite of the traditional orientation of family and community socialization of the indigenous peoples based on active learning. Informal education in indigenous societies is based on the development of practical skills for life and for maintaining social and

cosmic order. Children basically learn through observing and imitating adults and gradually take on responsibilities to help maintain the family.

When indigenous children start school, they enter an unknown territory in which the learning styles valued at home all of a sudden turn out to be of no use to them. They usually face a situation in which they must learn almost exclusively through lessons delivered by the teacher without being able to try out the recently acquired skills in meaningful contexts. Cultural discontinuity between the learning styles valued at home and those valued at school contribute towards alienation and create learning difficulties. Added to which, many of the teachers have restricted expectations for their indigenous students thus perpetuating the incidence of school failure. Any programme which intends to take up the indigenous cultural values must ensure the presence of the culture not only in the curricular contents, but also as a comprehensive part of the new educational science.

4. Splits between the educational system and the community

The lack of a linguistically and culturally relevant education in the rural and indigenous areas has created a split between the schools and the communities in which they operate. Historically, schools have had a patronising and contemptuous attitude towards the communities thus reinforcing the lack of trust the parents feel towards the school. The teachers have interpreted the rejection of the parents to a system that shows no respect for them and that does not meet their educational expectations, as a lack of interest of the community in education.

The educational model in force in rural schools has contributed to this dynamics. Traditional education, broadly known as the transmission model, is based on the premise that the teacher must teach knowledge and skills to students lacking them. There is an implicit rejection to the experiential knowledge the child may already have. This model implies an unequal relation between the teacher and the parents, between the school and the

community, which hinders the active participation of the community in the self-government of the school. Another expression of the split between the school and the community is the separation existing between the educational processes promoted by the school and the community's productive activity.

5. Limited access to secondary and higher education as well as to extracurricular education in rural indigenous areas

At present, most of the educational proposals specifically allotted to indigenous peoples are addressed to children, and, therefore, tend to ignore the aspirations of the young and those adults who would like to continue with their education process. This problem becomes more acute due to the lack of extracurricular educational alternatives and of continuous (i.e. non-formal) education possibilities, which would allow the problems of illiteracy and development to be overcome. There is no continuity for the advances experienced in the first years of elementary education and, once the bilingual learning process is interrupted, the children are lacking the confidence in their own language to assimilate concepts in a different language, thus favouring school desertion. Besides, when the young people of the communities intend to continue with their secondary school and higher education studies, they are faced with a lack of availability of educational services.

As far as endogenous education is concerned, there are only isolated studies made by anthropologists, ethnologists and psychologists. Endogenous education is to be understood as the primary socialisation processes transmitted within the family and the community. This knowledge includes religion, philosophy, moral norms and values, language, knowledge about medicine and economic reproduction forms as well as practical activities for community survival. Values such as work, solidarity, respect, a sense of responsibility, are transmitted through endogenous education. Learning has a practical and contextualised

approach and is transmitted through imitation of adults, observation, repetition of activities which are complemented by explanations and demonstrations given by the adults. An important component of this diagnosis is thus to rescue the elements of endogenous education that may be included within the national education curriculum.

The knowledge and experience generated by this research will be disseminated among the participating communities, the international agencies cooperating, the national governments involved as well as educational organizations. Based on the results of this diagnosis of the situation of education in the regions, a blueprint for an educational model for indigenous peoples will be laid down. A preliminary proposal will be made incorporating the components of an educational model for indigenous peoples that should also be developed as an education for mestizos in order to develop a truly intercultural education. The idea is to transform the educational system into an education that takes cultural diversity into account. Educational practice must reflect the positive acknowledgment and appreciation of cultural heterogeneity.

A preliminary proposal for a training and educational programme for educators of indigenous peoples and other populations will also be made in order to implement the new educational model. Finally, it is intended to establish and enforce an educational information system among the countries participating in the diagnosis of the educational reality of indigenous peoples and other native peoples.

CHAPTER 6

MULTICULTURALISM AND ADULT EDUCATION: THE CASE OF CHILE

Francisco Vergara E.

Introduction

Poverty and marginality among indigenous peoples is an objective fact: a large percentage of them live in this situation. At the same time, they are immersed in an extremely complex process of cultural and linguistic assimilation associated with a loss of identity, language, and traditions accompanied by discrimination as well as by an intense process of inner devaluation. Most indigenous populations clearly state being in favour of preserving their language and culture and of reinforcing their identity. What significance does education, the school system, have for a minority group's social processes of cultural reproduction?

The indigenous population of Chile mainly belongs to three culturally differentiated peoples: the Mapuches, the Aymaras, and the Rapa Nui (see table 1). Since its beginnings at the end of last century, the Chilean education system wagered on a forced assimilation system for the indigenous peoples. It introduced "illustrationist" schools into the indigenous communities or reservations with the ideological mission of bringing the indigenous peoples out of barbarism and civilizing them. Schooling took place in Spanish and the indigenous languages, traditions, customs and culture were not taken into account at all. The school thus became a tool to devalue the indigenous cultures which were only seen as traditional forms of survival hindering assimilation into modern society.

Table 1: *Population, age 14 upwards: Country and regions and respective indigenous population*

	Population age 14 upwards	Mapuche	Aymara	Rapa Nui
Total Country	9.660.367	928.060	48.477	21.848
Region I	234.586	9.557	15.461	302
Region II	292.308	12.053	4.164	417
Region III	162.375	6.747	1.313	280
Region IV	358.101	18.010	2.102	849
Region V	1.017.873	58.945	2.981	3.344
Region VI	501.892	35.579	1.317	1.108
Region VII	599.547	32.444	1.750	705
Region VIII	1.241.856	125.180	3.903	1.791
Region IX	552.843	143.769	1.214	381
Region X	680.019	68.727	1.620	759
Region XI	55.826	3.256	136	81
Region XII	106.020	4.714	208	183
Region Metropoli	3.848.121	409.079	12.308	11.648

This model has prevailed practically throughout this whole century. Educators perceived that the failure of this model was due to the fact that it did not take into account the linguistic, anthropological and cultural factors of the indigenous people. It was precisely these factors which were obstructing assimilation. Therefore, efforts were made to introduce the native mother tongue into the first grades of basic education as a transition to better and faster teaching of Spanish. These incipient experiences of bilingualism mostly took place in Catholic schools. The failure of this experiment in achieving total assimilation is more than obvious. It was hard for the indigenous communities to fight against this assimilation so they developed a cultural resistance strategy instead.

Since the Agrarian Reform period in the sixties, indigenous communities were heavily impacted by programmes of social promotion and agro-technology transference. These programmes basically aimed to modernize the indigenous communities and integrate them into the development processes the country was going through, but since it had not yet occurred to them to introduce the identity factor, the indigenous people were assimilated among the peasants.

The State has not developed specific adult education programmes for indigenous people. It has only implemented literacy programmes as well as special modalities for basic and middle education. This system is in open crisis since it failed to adjust to the characteristics of adult population in general.

In the eighties, a series of non-governmental organizations started to emerge in Chile. Different development programmes, financed by international cooperation, were implemented in indigenous communities. These non-formal education programmes, under the strong influence of a popular education philosophy, had innovative contents and included the direct participation of indigenous people in the design process as well as respect for their cultural identity and ways of living.

These NGO programmes coincided with the resurgence of the indigenous movement that had suffered heavy repression during the first years of military government. The indigenous communities made their own claims strongly criticizing the policies of the Chilean State from the thirties to the seventies, mainly expressed in successive attempts to do away with collective property deeds of communal lands accompanied by weak education and agricultural development policies.

This indigenous movement blames the State for the poor and marginal conditions they lived in. It clearly expressed the failure of the assimilationist policy of the Chilean State which produced the pauperization of the indigenous population.The indigenous peoples did not assimilate and had started to claim their own identity. What has been called ethnic emergence was then born. The emerging indigenous movement in the eighties gathered around the idea of creating a juridical framework to regulate a new covenant with the State.

The idea to formulate a New Indigenous Law was thus born. To this effect regional and provincial congresses were effected as well as a National Congress of indigenous people in Temuco in January, 1991 with more than 5000 delegates attending from all over the country. In October, 1991, the government sent a bill to Congress to promote, protect and develop indigenous peoples. It was passed two years later. As a result of this law, a National Corporation of Indigenous Development was created. It has defined that the existence of indigenous professional and technical personnel trained to face the tasks ethnodevelopment demands is crucial for the development of indigenous people.

The law considers the creation of an indigenous development fund in different areas. In this context, it has promoted a series of education and training programmes:

- training in social leadership;
- training in enterprise management;

- training in social management; and
- training and support to indigenous microenterprises.

All these programmes address the adult population and link technical aspects with elements of cultural identity. They take up the methodologies and guidelines of the programmes developed by the NGOs.

On the other hand, there have been education experiences between the National Corporation for Indigenous Development (CONADI) and the Universities which may open an interesting path to collaboration and education programmes for indigenous adults. One of these is the relation between CONADI and the Academic University of Christian Humanism which allows access for indigenous peoples to the different levels of higher education in an interculturality context in which indigenous culture and identity are respected. This is a pioneer agreement which may become an important tool for indigenous people's access to higher education.

As part of this agreement, the following courses are being created and/or promoted: a diploma in social management for urban indigenous leaders, a technical course in social planning and management for indigenous people in general, and a master's degree in bilingual intercultural education for indigenous teachers.

Conclusions

In the last few years, the indigenous reality has changed considerably. The new indigenous laws and the revitalization of the indigenous movement may well partly contain this process.One of the most difficult aspects, however, is the progressive migration of traditional communities from rural to urban areas. The indigenous population is thus turned into poor urban marginal sectors, giving birth to the 'urban indigenous', an ambiguous term since assimilation has been strong, cultural identity has hardly been maintained, and the language is practically lost.

The 1992 census points out that more than 50% of the indigenous population is urban. A recent study on socio-demographic conditions in Mapuche reservations in Region IX refers to the magnitude and proportion of expulsion of indigenous people from their communities, particularly the youngest.This study foresees that should low population growth persist in Mapuche reservations, together with current high migration rates, their population might decrease considerably in the near future.

We are facing a unique situation never seen since the military defeat and occupation of Mapuche territory in 1881. It is a radical conjuncture: indigenous society either disappears via assimilation, or will have to struggle for survival as a differentiated minority group with an integration without losing their identity. Education within the framework of minority cultural reproduction is a key element. That is why we consider identity-based multicultural adult education to play a key role in this context.

Indigenous people will only have a positive perception of development-oriented programmes that improve their living conditions. They do not wish to be poor or marginal. They wish to be respected and not to be discriminated against. They want their difference to be accepted and to be able to develop their own culture, language, and customs. Adult education for indigenous peoples must be organized around the axis of bilingual intercultural education. It must also aim to create technical cadre with an identity perspective since they are of great need to the process of ethno-development.

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PART III

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' OWN VISION

CHAPTER 7

ANANGU TEACHER EDUCATION: AN INTEGRATED ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMME

Mary Ann Bin-Sallik and Nan Smibert

Introduction

This paper is a case study of the Anangu Teacher Education Programme (AnTEP) which is a part of the Faculty of Aboriginal and Islander Studies, at the University of South Australia, Australia. It provides teacher education to mature age Aborigines who do not possess the formal pre-requisites. These people live on their tribal lands, which they have inhabited since time immemorial, in the remote isolated desert regions of central Australia. The programme is offered on nine locations covering an area of some 102,360 square kilometres crossing three state boundaries. The adults in this region have retained the spiritual affinity with their tribal lands, customs and mores. Students have had little formal education so their literacy and numeracy skills are very basic. The programme is community based with the curriculum influenced by community wishes, and aimed at providing students with a holistic approach to education. A core of English and math subjects exist based on the need for the students to develop their skills in these areas. But the curriculum also includes local oral histories, vernacular language, cultural studies, local environmental, social and health studies and other matters relating to communities' needs and world view. So unlike the conventional teaching training programmes this one is focused on adult education; with major emphasis on literacy and numeracy and the western constructs of general knowledge to enable graduates to function at levels relevant to their schools and communities and to take on leadership roles within these communities.

To fully appreciate the concept and focus of the AnTEP programme as well as the educational background of the students one has to first

understand the historical and educational background of Australian Aborigines within the wider Australian context.

Historical background

In the early years of colonisation when it became obvious that Aboriginal people were not a 'dying race', attempts were made to provide Aborigines with a form of western education not exceeding early primary school, to prepare them for labour exploitation by their colonisers. It was never intended for Aborigines to become a free determining group taking their rightful place alongside other Australians.

For instance it was not until 1967 that Australia's indigenous people became officially included in the Australian census. In 1856 a Select Committee on Aborigines became alarmed at the reduction in numbers through starvation, introduced diseases, murder, mistreatment and exploitation. The Committee recommended to the House of Commons in England that there be:

> *". . . missionaries for the natives, protection for their defence, schooling for the young and a special code of law to protect the Aborigine until he learned to live within the framework of British law" (quoted in Rowley 1970, p.* 20).

This recommendation led to a policy of segregation, with the establishment of Aboriginal reserves and missions. These institutions are what Goffman (1961) in his book *Asylums* termed total institutions where the inmates under go a deculturalization process which renders them unable to cope with daily living if and when they return to the outside world. They promoted a lifestyle of dependency which is still evident in many parts of Australia, and especially in the remote and isolated areas.

In these institutions adults were trained in labouring skills, domestic service and other menial tasks. Once competent in these areas, many were hired out to Europeans in return for their keep. However, they remained the wards of the state not being allowed to leave these institutions without permission from the White authorities and being denied the same rights as other citizens. It was asserted the only other people who could be treated like this were lunatics and criminals but even these people had recourse to the law (Jenkins, 1979).

The 1940's witnessed the introduction of what Aborigines called 'the dog tags'. These were special exemption certificates granted to hand picked Aborigines, giving them the status of 'honorary whites'; and allowing them some of the same rights as white Australians. These certificates in part read:

> *"In pursuance of the powers conferred by Section 11a of the Aborigines Act, 1934-1939, the Aborigines Protection Board, being of the opinion that... by reason of his/her character, standard of intelligence and development, should, be exempted from the provisions of the Aborigines Act, 1934-1939, does hereby unconditionally declare that the said. . . . shall cease to be an Aborigine for the purpose of the said Act"* (Mattingley & Hampton 1988, p. 51).

The same certificates could be revoked by the mere stroke of a pen. Hence certain 'selected' people could cease to be Aborigines and become 'intelligent' and 'white'; but again with the stroke of the pen, could revert to being Aboriginal.

Then, in the following decade we witnessed the new government policy introduced to assimilate us into the wider Australian community through a process of deculturalisation. However, by the late 1960's all Australian states and territories, through a gradual process, granted

Aborigines citizenship rights in their own country. This was despite being considered British subjects by law from the inception of British colonisation in 1788, through to 1901.

In 1967 white Australians voted in a national referendum to change the Australian Constitution. These changes were to:

a) allow indigenous Australians to be included in the reckoning of the country's population;
b) acknowledge the peoples of the Torres Strait Islands as indigenous Australians and;
c) transfer legislative power for Aborigines from the state to the federal government (Bennet 1985, p. 26: Sykes 1986, p. 19: Rowley 1971, p. 197).

However, the status of Aborigines changed very little in reality. They were still treated with the same contempt by the wider Australian community and institutions until there was a change of government in 1973. This new government introduced the Self Determination policy which led to the funding and implementation of programmes in education, health, legal aid, medical care, and housing following the consultation with Aboriginal people. At this time there were very few Aborigines with the appropriate experiences or formal qualifications to effectively carry out the major roles in these new programmes.

Statistics showed that in 1972 there were only 72 Aborigines enrolled in universities across the country. It was realised that if the education system was to change to meet the needs of Aboriginal children it would take at least three generations before significant changes would be recognised. So a system which allowed entry to universities without the formal prerequisites was worked on, a system with which universities were comfortable and over which Aboriginal people had some control.

In 1973, through an initiative by Aboriginal people, the first Aboriginal higher education programme was implemented in South Australia. It was set up with the purpose of training a group of Aborigines in the area of welfare. It was a special course without formal accreditation. In essence it was an adult education programme located within an higher education institution. Due to its enormous success it was allowed to continue and its graduates were then allowed to enrol in formal higher education awards.

Those early students demonstrated that given the right environment and appropriate tuition Aboriginal could succeed in higher education courses despite lacking the formal pre-requisites. This programme became the blue print for Aboriginal higher education in Australia.

You are probably wondering what all this has to do with adult education. Australia's adult education system comes under the heading of Technical and Further Education (TAFE), and like any other education system in Australia it has failed to adequately serve the needs of the country's indigenous population. Therefore, Aboriginal Australians had to find ways to facilitate and promote a system that would give them access to western education systems beyond the first three years of primary schooling, and a system that would ensure that students would be allowed to continue their education should they wish. And this is exactly what happened. On completion of these programmes some students continued studying, others found it easy to gain employment with the increase in Aboriginal organisation and of course (in) the units dealing with service delivery to Aboriginal people within public service sector. This programme became the blue print for Aboriginal higher education in Australia. By 1984 there were some fourteen programmes located in tertiary institutions across the country.

What was unique about these programmes was that they were mainly bridging courses which served to increase the students numeracy and literacy levels to a standard which allowed them to enrol in arts degrees and

teacher training programmes. They were in fact programmes in adult education which took students from a range of educational levels starting from grades three or four at primary school up to early secondary education. They were called bridging and orientation programmes which are still in existence and will be for some time because of our low levels of academic achievements in Australia's secondary education sector.

Graduates from these bridging and orientation programmes usually went on to teaching training programmes. However, the majority of people entering these higher education institutions were from urban communities and rural towns. The Aborigines living in isolated and remote communities were unable to capitalise on the education opportunities available to their urbanised counterparts. These people remain the most educationally disadvantaged people in Australia and because of this they have to rely on the professional expertise and goodwill of the non-Aborigines employed on their communities.

Despite the fact that Aboriginal Self Determination has been official government policy since the early 1970's, Australia's remote and isolated indigenous communities are still dependent on non-Aborigines more so than their Aboriginal counterparts in other areas of the country because of their geographical isolation and the lack of commitment from governments and state education authorities.

The context

The Anangu Teacher Education Programme (AnTEP) began in 1984 with the purpose of providing teacher education for Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara people in the remote north west of South Australia. They refer to themselves as Anangu which is their word for 'the people'. The people of this region regained their legal rights to their tribal lands after the Land Rights declaration by the South Australian Government in 1981, which recognised 102,360 square kilometres as belonging to these people. While colonisation had not seen them evicted

from their land, their rights had not been legally recognised until this date. A central church mission had been established in 1937 during a severe drought and the nomadic lifestyle of the desert dwellers altered accordingly as they came in from the bush for sustenance and out of curiosity. Prior to this they had very little , if any, contact with Europeans. Of course this mission was no different to the missions and Aboriginal reserves described earlier. It was a total institution whereby the inmates had no control over their lives, and every attempt was made to Christianise and civilise them and formal western education was introduced providing the children with the very basics in literacy and numeracy. Like most other remote communities no-one has ever completed high school and illiteracy levels are still appalling .

Today these desert dwellers live a mostly sedentary life in communities compared to their hunting and gathering existence prior to European contact. However, they travel their lands to carry out ceremonial obligations, visit relatives and maintain networks. Their language is still strong and their environmental and cultural knowledge is still part of everyday life although many aspects of traditional life and knowledge is dying with the old people. In addition Anangu people are facing enormous social and economic challenges such as the consequences of poor health due to dietary stress, a high incidence of diabetes, substance abuse - particularly petrol sniffing and alcohol, unemployment, and all the other stress factors and morbidity brought about through a lifestyle of poverty. Formal education has not been particularly successful in this region since its inception about 60 years ago. Aboriginal educators in the early 1980's realised that employing local untrained Aboriginal Education Workers in classrooms was not enough and that these people needed training so they could take a greater role in the schools. This of course was the motivating factor for the implementation of AnTEP.

AnTEP is one of only a few accredited courses in Australia which are especially designed for remote area Aboriginal people. However, because

of the nature of the programme and its students, the accreditation is limited to teaching specifically in Anangu schools. It is the only adult education programme in the region which has the goal of preparing local people for a long term professional role in their communities. To date the AnTEP trained teachers are the only Anangu professionals with skills at standards appropriate for their communities.

The Programme began its off campus operations in the Pitjantjatjara Lands in the early 1980's. It is situated administratively at the University of South Australia in Adelaide but practically and contextually it is situated in the Pitjantjatjara Yangkunytjatjara Lands in the north west of South Australia. It is jointly funded by the University of South Australia and the Department of Education and Children's Services, as a shared commitment to the training of Anangu teachers.

Over the years the programme has remodelled itself several times from a full time course to part time, then to a combination of both. It has also changed from being offered centrally at Ernabella to being decentralised across 7 communities; Indulkana, Mimili, Fregon, Ernabella, Amata, Murputja, and Pipalyatjara. The communities range in size with the largest having about 1000 inhabitants and the smallest approximately 200. They are connected by rough dirt roads which take the traveller through some of the most arid, yet beautiful, areas of Australia which are sometimes cut off from the outside world through bad weather. Yipirinya School, an independent Aboriginal School in Alice Springs (which is a large town in central Australia) and Yalata Aboriginal School, in the southern part of South Australia, both joined the programme in later years.

Unique aspects of the programme

The programme's uniqueness lies in the fact that it offers teacher education on-site so that students are able to study in small groups within their own communities. This provides the opportunity for students most of whom are

married women with young children, to remain within their cultural context close to their families and relatives while completing their course.

Further challenging factors which influences this programme are:

* issues of English being a second (third, fourth) language for most of the student population group in AnTEP;
* cultural learning styles often conflict with those expected in mainstream tertiary education;
* access to quality academic resources and experiences is limited;
* most AnTEP teaching happens on-site, in communities. Adela de based staff travel long distances to the communities to teach;

AnTEP makes use of its graduates and traditional Aboriginal community members' expertise and knowledge in teaching and subject development. This requires much time for negotiation.

In addition the programme has formal agreements with Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Education Committee (PYEC) and the Anangu education Services (AES). The PYEC are an elected group of Anangu people with an interest in education, whose role it is to advise the AES. AnTEP receives an annual grant from the South Australian Department of Education and Children's Services, through the AES, which recognises the high cost of running a remote area programme. These working relationships also require time for negotiation and to ensure smooth working relations.

Teaching principles

AnTEP is a three stage course. Many students exiting after Stage one with a non-accredited certificate or at the end of Stage two with a Diploma of teaching (Anangu). This enables students to use AnTEP as a general adult education programme.The lack of access to any other formally accredited education, at the local level, makes it of interest to some students who have no wish to be teachers. Those who are committed to work in the schools

can still take up to six or seven years to complete stage three and gain a Bachelor of Teaching (Anangu), for reasons which will be discussed below.

The AnTEP awards are the result of extensive discussions between all stakeholders in education on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands. These consultations are held on a regular basis, involve AnTEP staff and students, and have been crucial in ensuring that Anangu perspectives have been included in the course development process.

The complex cross-cultural nature of the course and its unique mode of being off campus based and totally Anangu has required regular dialogue to ensure that changing community and student needs are met.

The provision of the teaching programme to these students has to take into account:

* a learning context where English is a foreign or second language and the majority of students have a primary grade 2-4 level of English ;
* the need to deliver the programme largely in English while recognising the status and importance of Pitjantjatjara language;
* a variety of family and ceremonial obligations which interrupt student study;
* a high level of student health-related interruptions. There is a high level of serious health problems and few trained medical staff in these communities;
* the mobility of students between communities because of cultural and community obligations and ceremonies;
* the need to utilise and locate staff on a cost-effective basis;
* the need to integrate aspects of the programme into community and school timetables as opposed to university timetables.

The Anangu Teacher Education Programme (AnTEP) has constantly broken new ground both in its approach to the curriculum and in its exploration of teaching methods which are successful with traditionally

oriented students in their own communities. It is essential to work with small groups without the traditional university style stand-up-and-lecture mode of teaching. The delivery of new materials is usually given in small segments to allow discussion and clarification. Due to the students low level of reading skills it is not possible to send them off to read massive texts and return the next day. They have to be taken through their work step by step.

Teaching methods within AnTEP are premised on the following principles:

* that learning is contextualised --culturally and classroom-based;
* that learning is grounded in practice and proceeds from practice to theory;
* that learning is part of a negotiated process;
* that the teaching model is based on sound primary teaching methodology which students can adopt as teachers in their own right;
* that teaching methods be included in the evaluation procedures of the programme.

These principles guide AnTEP lecturers in ensuring they employ culturally appropriate teaching methods which focus on the specific needs of Aboriginal students. Some important strategies used are participatory research, such as negotiating the curriculum, and, action research, where students are able to critically reflect on their learning activities, habits and classroom teaching practice. Outlines prepared for each module suggest the most appropriate teaching strategies for lecturers.

Subjects are presented as intensive workshops, field trips and in the form of on-going course work. Students participate in discussions, group and individual activities, research projects, written assignments and attend conferences.

Workshops, where study is intensive for up to one week's duration, are usually conducted in a central community, Alice Springs or in Adelaide at the Underdale Campus.

Multimedia delivery, in the form of software packages such as Authorware and Electronic Classroom, has been trialed to complement face-to-face teaching and to promote independent student learning practices. Unfortunately technology problems combined with the isolation have made this approach frustrating

The curriculum

The curriculum is divided into five main areas.

Teaching Studies
Curriculum Studies
Cultural Studies
Community and Environment Studies
Academic Skills (which are taught in context)

Teaching Studies concentrates on broadly applicable theories of education which are fundamental to the operations of formal schooling. Topics take into account cultural differences but concentrate on common human development theories and the practice of teaching in formalised western style schools.

Curriculum Studies topics focus on the teaching of language and maths in schools. The curriculum provides guidance for integrating the teaching of English and maths skills, but it also leaves room for specific teaching of some language skills outside of the context of a module of work.

Cultural Studies subjects assume that students are fluent speakers of their own Aboriginal language and that they bring to the course cultural knowledge associated with that language. Students extend their vernacular

literacy and the knowledge and understandings they have about their own culture and how it differs from others. Some specific learning activities include collecting and transcribing oral histories and accessing the growing amount of Aboriginal literature developing across Australia. It is hoped that such knowledge will be seen as a valuable resource by the schools that employ AnTEP graduates, and will encourage them to use it in their classrooms.

Community and Environment modules are another strand of the curriculum where Anangu knowledge and world view are given room for development. Community and the Environment' is an umbrella title for a cluster of subjects with a common holistic approach intended to be closer to an Anangu approach, being less fragmented into knowledge and discipline areas.

The subjects involved are:

- Manta Wirura Kanyilpai (environmental studies)
- Wirura Nyinanyi (health and well being)
- Contemporary Issues in Aboriginal Society

They are not subject/discipline areas that accord exactly with the Australian National Curriculum, which has been adopted by the AES to be used in the local schools. This is for two reasons.

The first is that Anangu teacher access to the organisation and language of the national curriculum documents is proving to be difficult. AnTEP is concerned with organising curriculum in a way that is more culturally appropriate and accessible. All the parts of Community and the Environment fit into the mosaic of the national curriculum and so can be justified in those terms.

The second reason is that Anangu schools curricula will with time be reviewed by a growing group of trained and experienced Anangu ed[illegible]ators. Undoubtedly the curriculum focus in these schools will be more closely aligned with Anangu world view as this group of teachers grows in number and power. AnTEP's responsibility at this stage is to ensure their training is broad and inclusive as possible and not be confined by the discipline areas identified by national curriculum.

The overall aims in Community and Environment are for students to:

a) critically examine the traditional and contemporary processes which shape the social and environmental well being of Anangu people and their land and to recognise the struggles that exist for social justice, well-being, and a healthy environment.

b) critically examine whether Anangu schools curriculum meets the required needs of Anangu and to consider processes for curriculum development and change.

Manta Wirura Kanyilpai aims to develop the students knowledge and understanding of land management and ecological issues on the Pitjantjatjara Lands. The initial focus is on the traditional cultural interpretations of land and the land management that is/was part of that. Keeping this as a reference the units then look at contemporary natural and social issues which are influencing the health of the land. Current approaches to land management are studied. Local expertise, especially that of the elders , is included by employing them as part time teachers.

The Wirura Nyinanyi modules enable students to investigate concepts of health, ill health and well being. The social model of health which is developed during this course is inspired by the holistic approach to well being, which includes mental and spiritual health as well as health of the body and place (environment). They begin by looking at traditional

concepts of well being and the traditional relationships with land which supported these concepts. Students are expected to identify the range of factors which impact on their health and look at their health status as a group. Wirura Nyinanyi methodology dictates that local community people are involved in the teaching of some of the material. The ultimate aim is to equip graduates with the skills and knowledge to influence the way "health" is taught in Anangu schools.

Contemporary Issues provides a structure for students to develop a greater understanding of the social, cultural, economic and political factors that effect Anangu and the wider Australian society today. A critical view of social inequities and powerful hegemonic structures is adopted.

The course begins by providing students with the opportunity to research an historical context for their study by looking at the contact period, further supporting their oral history research. The subjects then take them through a range of contemporary social issues from which they are expected to make choices for more in depth analysis.

Current issues relating to the employment of AnTEP graduates

As more Aboriginal teachers graduate from AnTEP and other special entry teacher training courses, and move into the teaching work force in remote area schools, a range of issues are being raised. Sometimes perspectives in the field are fairly oppositional. Views from the field have been forthright in both their condemnation of, and their support for, special entry courses in Northern Australia and South Australia.

Two critical issues need to be recognised at the outset. Firstly, no other graduates in Australia are under greater scrutiny on a daily basis than the Aboriginal people from special entry teacher education courses. Their performance as teachers is constantly being appraised and regularly debated within the schooling systems in remote areas of Australia. The debate is being carried out by their non-Aboriginal colleagues, principals and

education department officials in a way that to often excludes them from the debate.

Secondly, the question of why Aboriginal teachers are being trained needs to be revisited. Recent cuts to higher education and a general questioning of special entry programmes and the close scrutiny of Aboriginal graduates, indicate that there is a need to briefly reiterate some fundamentals that lie behind these programmes. Conventional schools have generally been spectacularly unsuccessful in remote Australia since their inception and this situation continues to this very day. There is no suggestion that this reality is likely to change while schools remain biased by their history as western institutions. It is only through the mediating role of Aboriginal teachers that the compromise of formal western education in traditionally-oriented communities can hope to work. That encapsulates the reasoning behind a special entry teacher education course such as AnTEP. If adequate funding and associated moral support are not maintained then the very issue of AnTEP's purpose and philosophy is probably irrelevant. The South Australian Education Department is currently depleting the number of Aboriginal Education Workers in Anangu schools, thereby affecting the student group that AnTEP students have generally come from. Without adequate Aboriginal staff, trained or otherwise, schools have no chance of interpreting relevant schooling for Aboriginal children, and the historically poor levels of education in Aboriginal communities will continue.

There are a range of issues raised by Aboriginal teachers, and others, that need wider debate. They are particularly relevant to Anangu schools in the Pitjantjatjara Lands but they can apply generally to other remote Aboriginal education contexts in Australia.

The appropriateness of both school curriculum and school organisation are important issues.

Curriculum

Appropriate Curriculum for Aboriginal schools is a contested area but its relevance for Aboriginal teachers is paramount. The South Australian schools have adopted the national curriculum and Aboriginal teachers from the Anangu region have been given little consideration in its adoption. They are generally confused about what it is and what it means. More recent graduates have some skills in how to use it at a basic level but little debate about the ramifications of adopting the curricula has occurred.

Published critics of the Australian national curriculum, such as Reid (1995), argue that the world view implicit in these documents supports, or at least does not challenge, the status quo. Curricula are political statements and they reflect a choice by 'someone' of what is legitimate knowledge. A lot of work was done in Aboriginal schools during the 7o's and 80's, towards defining some localised curriculum. The 1990's ethos of educational 'efficiency' coupled with a rationalist vocational purpose for schools, gave birth to key competencies and the national curriculum. It was the big national employers, the corporations, with views on what represented a good employee, who largely informed the key competencies and the curriculum. There are major issues of societal needs and values to be argued within all of this, and for Aboriginal schools these issues take on even more monumental proportions. The creation of curriculum is not a job for government and corporate bureaucrats, it is a job for trained educators in negotiation with the community. In the case of Aboriginal schools they, like all other schools, must pay attention to a core national curriculum which ensures all children know how to live in a just democratic society, after which the notion of a 'typical' child should be dropped so that schools are free to develop curriculum relevant to local directions and needs.

In the past there have been some outstanding examples of curriculum development which include, value and depend on Aboriginal teachers, bringing them to the fore of the schools pedagogical directions. To do otherwise will continue to demean and reduce the Aboriginal teachers role

in the schools and comparisons will inevitably portray them as second rate teachers within the framework of the status quo. This does not mean that locally developed curriculum cannot be justified within the framework of the national curriculum, but it should not have to start from that point. Localised curriculum can support rather than prevent a school undermining the very community it serves which has been an historical problem in Aboriginal schools.

This is not an argument for what has become known as the 'two-way' (Folds 1987) curriculum or cultural domain separation. Rather, the 'two-worlds' metaphor (Henze and Vanett 1993) hides the complexity of contemporary life for remote area Aboriginal people and therefore ignores much about the reality of the kids lives and can reduce their options. Instead the suggestion is that the development of localised curriculum would promote an analysis of what is important contemporary knowledge, by Anangu teachers and others.

The ramifications for a programme such as AnTEP are many. It is important to train teachers to use the national curriculum if they will be expected to use them, yet curriculum development skills must be developed to assist in avoiding the marginalisation and suppression of local knowledge and values.

School organization

Current success at some schools in Central and Northern Australia would indicate that if schools are open and responsive, new ways of organising schools which are more inclusive of Aboriginal staff, are possible. Some schools have organised themselves so that new teachers, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, are supported by specialist staff during the morning maths and language classes. Many of these same schools have central planning and resource rooms where teachers can gather to share and discuss while they plan for the next day. Fregon School in the Pitjantjatjara Lands is an example. This type of collaboration doesn't suit all teachers but many

Aboriginal teachers have indicated that this has prevented them feeling isolated in their classroom or from wallowing in that all too familiar teachers' syndrome of staleness and loss of creati ity. With a common planning area, Aboriginal teachers have a chance to collaboratively plan and programme. They can also share the burden of trying to make sense out of the national curriculum documents which they are required to use.

Many Aboriginal teachers have stated that they feel a sense of isolation that could be combated by better networking between Aboriginal teachers, especially in Central Australia. A lot of the official Training and Development is regarded by Anangu teachers as a waste of time and yet the opportunity could exist for this to be inspiring for them if relevant sessions were offered which they could share with other teachers across the border. There is a clear need for a gathering together and sharing between Aboriginal teachers from a similar region.

Language of instruction in schools

They are the issues of bi-lingual versus English only instruction in Aboriginal schools. In many 'English only' schools Aboriginal teachers use their own language as the language of instruction. In some cases this causes a rift between these teachers and some school/community positions which state that all teachers must teach in English. The Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara Education Committee position is an example. AnTEP students have asked for the maintenance of some minimal training in vernacular literacy, recognising that while the schools are not officially bilingual, Pitjantjatjara is the main language they will use in their instruction. Rather than expressing concern that Anangu teachers are instructing in their own language and therefore Anangu children are being exposed to less English, schools would be better served looking at what this means for their organisation and the roles of English as a first language teachers. This appears to be particularly important for communities where English has low status or little everyday purpose. Associated educational

theory and the ramifications for children language learning need to be discussed more openly at community and institutional levels.

Conclusion

AnTEP remains committed to ensuring that Anangu teachers continue to join the ranks of teaching staff in their communities, despite their lack of mainstream qualifications. AnTEP also remains committed to providing a culturally relevant course which recognises the student's Aboriginality while providing the skills for them to work in schools.

Aboriginal teachers graduating from special entry courses are a contemporary reality of schooling in remote area Australia. The debates arising from that reality are many and varied and the time has come to channel those debates towards a meaningful end. Laying 'blame' for current concerns about Aboriginal teachers' skills masks the complexity of the issues and tends to add the overwhelming positives associated with having Aboriginal teachers in Aboriginal classrooms as a mere after thought.

It is time for avenues to be opened allowing Aboriginal teachers to join the debates in Aboriginal education. Especially those concerning their status and their roles. Otherwise an education system which has historically failed Aboriginal children will be judged in time as being slow to cherish and support an Aboriginal teaching force with the potential to change those unfortunate historical directions and lead their communities into the twenty first century with dignity, encouragement and excitement.

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CHAPTER 8

INUIT EXPERIENCES IN EDUCATION AND TRAINING PROJECTS

Kevin Knight

Introduction

In this paper, two examples of Inuit experience in education and training projects are presented. The Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC), an international NGO representing the Inuit of Greenland, Canada, Alaska and Russia, was involved in the Nunavik Educational Task Force, which concluded in 1992, and is engaged in the establishment of the Belize Indigenous Training Institute (BITI). Before describing these two initiatives, I shall address some issues of concern with regard to indigenous peoples, training and development initiatives derived from Inuit and ICC experiences in this field.

The Inuit experience and parallels with other indigenous peoples

Like the Inuit, the indigenous peoples of developing countries are often occupying remote, resource-poor communities. Historically marginalized in the development process, indigenous peoples are finding the economic and cultural health of their communities threatened as their country enters an increasingly difficult period of economic downturns and programme education. In many cases, both government and the country's indigenous peoples have recognized that training is essential to help ensure the long term economic and cultural viability of the native communities. However, training efforts directed towards local communities have been limited in both quantity and effectiveness by a number of factors. These include:

* lack of resources for training
* lack of training designed specifically to reflect the linguistic and cultural environments of indigenous peoples.
* absence of a long term training plan linked to community economic and social development plans
* lack of training agencies or institutions controlled by indigenous peoples

These are problems that Inuit have faced and dealt with. Recognizing that training is the key to the long term survival of their communities and their culture, Inuit have developed institutions, programmes and systems to meet their training needs. Instead of relying on teaching techniques and material developed in Southern Canada, they have created their own training programmes, in their own language, based on traditional learning styles, which have resulted in training programmes that have produced a new generation of Inuit entrepreneurs, teachers, broadcasters, health care and social workers.

It may surprise some to hear of the connection between the indigenous peoples of developing countries and the Inuit of Canada. But some readers will recognize a number of similarities between the current experience of indigenous peoples in developing countries and the recent Inuit past. Some of these similarities include:

* Concentration of population in rural, remote, resource-poor communities
* Marginalization through lack of training and education
* Heavy dependence on federal funding and external support
* Diminishing sense of indigenous control of communities
* Loss of culture and language

Canadians are all too familiar with the social cost of these phenomena. After decades of work, through their social, political and economic development initiatives, Inuit have begun to regain control of their communities. Their experience has come to represent a considerable body of knowledge and expertise.

The history of 'First World' assistance to developing countries has not been entirely successful. Even Canada's relatively positive history of development assistance has had its share of failed projects and disappointed client groups. There are a number of reasons for such failures. Some of the most common include:

* Prioritization of donor goals and objectives over community needs and priorities
* A tendency to aim for short term results (particularly in economic development projects) instead of long-term, sustainable community-based development
* A failure to take into account the cultural norms, standards and practices of the target country or community
* A tendency to foster dependence on outside sources of funding or expertise

Once again, readers with experience in Aboriginal Canada will recognize that these same problems have crippled many social and economic development ventures on reserves in Northern Canada. This parallel suggests that the experience of Inuit may be valuable and applicable to the needs of other indigenous peoples.

The ICC approach

The work of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference over the last decade has led to the formation of some basic principles that inform their international development initiatives:

Develop goals based on the real needs of both partners

Too often development projects are driven by funder criteria, donor programming, or more simply, by short-term profit. It is much easier to find funding for AIDS Education Programmes, for instance, than for training development; it is debatable whether most communities would place their funding priorities in that order. Effective development, however, requires that the real needs of both partners are met. In some cases, this may mean helping the community to identify its own priorities, for example through community consultations on a wide range of social and political issues.

To create an equal partnership, create an equal partner

The expertise necessary to prepare a strategic plan, set up a small business, or develop a marketing strategy is often simply not available in a client community. In some cases, there may not even be an appropriate community based organization in place to work through. Absence of trained personnel and an appropriate community-based partner organization can condemn the project to long-term dependence on outside expertise. Unless such an organization and the appropriate skills are in place, control of the project will pass out of the hands of the indigenous peoples and so will the economic benefits. This means in most cases that a development project will require a training component: in some cases, such as Belize, training must be the starting point for the entire development initiative.

Seek sustainability

Too many development projects - even businesses - rely entirely on external funds to survive. This is an increasingly precarious way to run an organization. Long-term dependence on grants robs a venture of any real economic benefit, and deprives the community of ownership and control, since projects must be redefined to meet the needs and priorities of funders rather than those of the communities themselves. Whenever possible, ICC

joint ventures and development projects, including BITI, aim to achieve self-sufficiency after their initial development phase.

Make a long term commitment

Developers of international joint ventures are vehement about the years required to build trust and establish a relationship with a potential partner before getting down to business. It is unrealistic to commit less time to a venture between indigenous peoples. To establish good faith, to determine community needs and priorities, to help a partner prepare for a joint venture with training support, these essential steps require long-term commitment by the outside partner.

These are the principles directing the development of ICC international projects.

Education and training in the North and the South

The experience of Inuit has proven that an essential part of regaining the control of the communities has been the development of effective education and training programmes and systems. It is no accident that so much effort and energy has been devoted in the North to training. Inuit have recognized that without training, the institutions that dominate education, economic development and the political lives of their communities will be beyond their control.

This attention to community-based, practical training has become an integral part of most social and economic development planning initiatives in northern communities. Projects and initiatives are carefully analyzed for the training components, and a training plan is prepared to ensure that Inuit achieve the maximum benefit of any initiatives.

There is no parallel in the developing countries in which we work. No institutions, NGO's, governmental departments/agencies or funds are specifically committed to the education and training of indigenous people. When indigenous communities are targeted for training, it is because they

tend to be "the poorest of the poor", and not because they are indigenous. Thus training is almost never in indigenous languages, or delivered by indigenous instructors, or based on learning styles appropriate for indigenous learners.

Moreover, training events are not linked to specific economic or social development initiatives, nor are they based on long-term, multi-year plans reflecting community needs and priorities.

In short, there have been few systematic attempts made to determine what special needs indigenous learners have, or to formulate teaching and training principles and procedures for needs assessment, training design, training delivery, or evaluation that reflect indigenous needs, learning styles and practices.

The Nunavik Educational Task Force

To be in the Nunavik Educational Task Force was a major exercise conducted by the Inuit of Northern Quebec in Canada. Its purpose was to review the existing educational system and to recommend ways and means of revising it in order for it to provide greater relevance to the learning styles, culture and circumstances of Inuit. In the view of Inuit, education is the means of learning the way people prepare themselves for life. The effectiveness of education is measured by how well it prepares people to handle problems; not only by knowledge, but also by skill, persistence, patience, endurance and courage. It is felt that the combination of these things leads to wisdom.

The system of education that existed in Nunavik prior to the Task Force did not, it was felt, embrace these things and this reality was viewed as one of the reasons for a variety of problems ranging from a high level of school drop-out to suicide. The Task Force was to define an educational system which combined the best of Inuit heritage and traditions with the best of other cultures. A system that respects and builds on the *isumak* of their grandparents, as well as the wisdom of elders who understand learning

and institutions, wherever they may be found. After all, Inuit believe, as did William Penn, that

> *"knowledge is the treasure but judgement is the treasure of a wise man. He who has more knowledge than judgement is made for another means purpose"*
> (Penn, 1693)

In the same manner, Inuit believe that a system of education or training must be empowering. It must be liberating not dependency creating.

The Task Force then, was a significant undertaking for Inuit at an important point in their history. They had been compelled, as many indigenous peoples, to dispense with their own methods of learning and to move rapidly from traditional lifestyles and learning, to a western way of life and new learning systems, most often foreign to them. While Inuit had in a very brief period in their history, some 20 years, only begun to become again masters in their own home by taking over responsibility for institutions which once presided over them, many needs still required attention. Also, the movement from the igloo to the computer chip had its price. Many youth were not learning and many were falling by the wayside. The review then, by Inuit, was an occasion to deal not only with a system and its mechanics, but also, to provide its relevance.

The Task Force report includes some 101 recommendations. Chief among these are the following:

1. Create a system which is directly accountable to the people and which is responsive to their needs and future aspirations.
2. Develop a number of innovative youth development programmes.
3. Establish a system of co-operation between Inuit of the Circumpolar World and indigenous peoples of the broader world, to support and

supplement innovative activities and applied research which are intended to improve delivery, standards and quality, and to address the capacity of educational systems to adapt to rapid economic, technological and social change.

4. The School Board policy should be dedicated to meeting community needs and priorities, and should be based on needs assessment of the people of Nunavik.
5. Local standards should be compatible with those of government.
6. Train and recruit more indigenous peoples of the region as teachers and administrators.
7. Revise existing teacher training and make greater use of advanced pedagogical methods and techniques.
8. Pre-service training for teachers should include the relationships between adaptive learning, empowerment and independence, community education needs assessment, higher order learning and training skills, the basics of instructional design, global cultural access skills and perspectives, including symbolic/analytical skills and self-directed learning.
9. The school calendar should be modified to meet the needs of culture relatedactivities and self-directed learning.
10. School programmes should use community resource people.
11. The language of the indigenous community as well as history and culture must be included in the system and its provisions.
12. Adult education and vocational training must be among the priorities addressed.

These recommendations along with another 91 became the mandate of an implementation committee which has already reviewed the educational system to meet these new and innovative challenges. Work still continues in this case, but I believe it is an example of how one indigenous people addressed their system of education and training to make it more

relevant while still meeting broader concerns for standards and quality. This example is one which explains the history and movement of Inuit, as well as their experience and direction.

The Belize Indigenous Training Institute

The second case I will explain, is that of the Belize Indigenous Training Institute (BITI). BITI is an example of a broader direction in which the Inuit are headed internationally. In Belize, the ICC along with four Indigenous Councils (Maya & Garifuna), have completed a development plan, which incorporates the interests of over 5000 indigenous peoples consulted during the planning period. While BITI is only now being incorporated and will open an office in the next few months, it was already spawned as a community radio station, and a new process for Belize of co-management and information self-sufficiency. The fundamental purpose of BITI is capacity building. The aim is to establish a level playing field of skills between Inuit, Maya and Garifuna, and then to (have) built a foundation upon which long-lasting economic joint-ventures may be based.

In February 1995, the ICC organized an exploratory mission to determine the level of interest and feasibility of establishing an indigenous training institute for the Maya and Garifuna peoples of Belize. ICC's principles outlined above formed the basis for discussion when Inuit and Belizeans first met to discuss joint development projects. The process began in Belize City on February 1, with an initial meeting with Maya and Garifuna leaders at the University of the West Indies to discuss the issues and options associated with the creation of such an institute. At the conclusion of the meeting the organizations appointed spokespersons to represent them in an Advisory Committee: the Advisory Committee members then signed a memorandum of understanding, requesting the ongoing support of the Inuit of Canada.

In the weeks that followed, a wide range of consultation meetings were held in village community centers and government offices throughout Belize.

The institute will be an incorporated, non-profit organization. It will be based in the Toledo district in southern Belize, but will also have the capacity to design and deliver programmes in the communities across Belize.

The institute is intended to:

- Delivery of instruction
- Design, production, storage and distribution of training materials
- Administration of local and remote training programmes, facilities and institution
- Accommodation of out-of-town training participants
- Transportation of students
- Transmission of distance delivered (broadcast) training.

The institution will balance local delivery of programmes in Toledo with distance delivery to other communities.

It is expected that these and other training needs will be met through a combination of:

- Short-term stand-alone workshops (1-3 days), delivered at the institute and by institute-accredited instructors in the communities
- Longer term, more comprehensive programmes, delivered through a combination of on-site and community instruction
- Training delivered on-site within member organizations.

The first institute sponsored training will be delivered in February of this year.

Principles for the Institute

The Advisory Committee began its work by formulating a list of the principles that would inform the development of training at the institute. It is interesting to note the degree to which these guidelines reflect ICC's development principles, and the experience of the Northern training organizations.

Development of Infrastructure and Governance Capacity

The initial phases of development emphasized the definition of the governance of the institute. It was essential that BITI member organizations begin immediately to take responsibility for determining the goals, structure and priorities of the institute; this was a challenge, given that the Maya and Garifuna groups had never worked together before.

Community Direction

The institute drew its initial priorities from the community: its Advisory Committee is made up of community representatives, and its location and training principles were determined through extensive community consultation. The institute's annual training plans will be based on priorities set, revisited and revised by communities themselves, and not the vagaries of donor funding programmes.

Sustainability

In addition to the usual external source of funding, the BITI development plan identifies a number of opportunities for long-term, sustainable revenue generation.

Utilization of existing programmes and resources

The institute will be developed in communication and in co-operation with existing institutional providers of education and training services in Belize. This will ensure that scarce resources are not wasted in duplicating training

services, that successful training principles and programmes are utilized wherever possible, and that existing providers of training and services can maximize the benefits to indigenous peoples of their services.

Link training to economic and social development initiatives

When participants in training are afforded the opportunity to use what they have learned in their communities, they are both confirming their learning and building upon the base of skills and knowledge acquired. Trainers, trainees and funding sources have confirmation of learning, and most important, communities reap an immediate social and economic dividend from their investment in training.

BITI will review existing community economic and social development initiatives in the indigenous community to determine what opportunities they afford for linkage with training. Similarly, all BITI training will incorporate an application component to allow learners to apply their new skills and knowledge in a way that meets real community development needs.

The Benefits to Belize

The Maya and Garifuna of Belize hope that BITI will help their communities in the same way that Atii and Arctic College have helped the North by qualifying indigenous Belizeans for more and better jobs, by providing a training component to support community economic development initiatives, and by helping other training organizations to be more effective. A realistic assessment of BITI's training will only be possible once programme delivery begins; BITI's long-term impact on the communities will not be felt for years. But if the experience of the North provides any insight, the level of community interest and commitment demonstrated so far, bodes well for the future of BITI.

The new international linkage between the indigenous peoples has also generated interests in a wide range of joint venture projects with Inuit, which offer real long-term economic benefits.

It may be though, that the most important benefit to Belize was summed up by Dr. Joseph Palacio, when he observed at the inaugural meeting of the BITI Steering Committee that:

"This is a unique and historic occasion in the history of Belize. It marks the first time that the indigenous peoples in this country have joined forces and committed themselves to work on a project together as indigenous Belizeans."

The fact that three distinct indigenous groups made that commitment together is a major accomplishment in itself: the impact of this new linkage may be even greater than that of the institute.

In a more general sense, this project represents the consolidation and validation of Canadian indigenous expertise as an exportable resource. The BITI project has attracted national media interest and is expected to enhance Canadian Inuit' reputation even further in the region. In the short term, the BITI Advisory committee has requested the ongoing assistance of ICC and Canadian Inuit with the business planning and implementation stages of the organization as well as with the projects outlined below.

The long-term benefits of the ICC mission to Belize go far beyond BITI itself. Over the past years of planning, Inuit and indigenous Belizean partners have identified more than thirty potential joint ventures and opportunities, all of which will yield direct economic benefits to Canadian partners, including:

- A joint-venture tourism project
- A boat building joint venture
- The creation of small-format community FM radio network.

Other project areas include fisheries development, crafts marketing, land utilization and management projects, and many others; all projects which will permit the expansion and globalization of existing Canadian Indigenous businesses, and the application of Canadian Indigenous expertise. These are not short-term projects, but practical, sustainable, community-based business opportunities. These projects will be undertaken in a way that ensures meaningful, equal partnerships in Belize, with the long-term commitment to capacity building it implies.

The development of BITI represents one application of ICC's model for co-operative institutional development linked to community economic development. However, despite the fact that this is the UN Decade of the World's Indigenous People, surprisingly little assistance is available internationally to promote international indigenous to indigenous linkages.

The ICC recognizes, however, that its work will require international recognition and support, and is pursuing partnership arrangements with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the International Labour Office (ILO), the European Union, and others.

There is no doubt that with continued support and the right mix of partners, the work of the ICC can lead to the domestic and international recognition that Canadian Inuit expertise is marketable around the world, as well as appreciation for the approach being taken as one model useful in development of indigenous peoples of the developing world.

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CHAPTER 9

ADULT EDUCATION AMONG INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN ECUADOR

Pedro Humberto Ushiña S.

In Ecuador attempts to rid ourselves or at least diminish the high rate of illiteracy have been underway for approximately 66 years. Nevertheless the problem persists. Achievements have been minimal in relation to the efforts of the state and of international organizations such as UNESCO which have invested large sums of money and a significant amount of time.

The sector which has benefited the least from this investment is that of the indigenous peoples. And indeed the greatest number of illiterates are to be found in the rural indigenous population. For over 50 years the contents, methodology and language used to teach children reading and writing were one and the same. Only recently since 1980 owing to the strong pressure exerted by the indigenous organizations themselves were the contents and forms of the indigenous languages even considered. In this case it was predominantly with the Quechuan population. For the other groups relatively little or nothing at all has even been attempted.

The indigenous nationalities of Ecuador and their respective languages are:

Nationality	Language
Awa	Awapit
Epera	Eperapedede
Chachi	Chapaalachi
Tsachi	Tsafiqui
Quichua	Quichua (Runa shini)
Siona	A Picoca variant
Secoya	Paicoca

Nationality	Language
Cofan	A'ingae
Huao	Huaoterero
Achuar	A Suar-Chicham variant
Shuar	Suar-Chicham

Education addressed to the country's adult population

Adult education in Ecuador started in the thirties. It was implemented at a mass level without taking cultural and linguistic differences into account. The emphasis was on teaching the alphabet which was then the principle prevailing in the teaching of the written form of a language. Achievements were only relative since a considerable percentage of the people who had followed literacy courses eventually lapsed back into illiteracy due to a lack of opportunities and materials for the new readers as well as to a lack of practice. It was the indigenous people who left the literacy centers in larger numbers. They would loose interest because the courses were too abstract and too distant from their own reality. Apart from the fact that the contents of the courses were not of relevance to their life, the timetable was extremely demanding and formal, almost school-like.

The afore-mentioned approaches and processes were applied to the education of illiterate indigenous adults. Since the desertion levels are much higher among the indigenous population, it is logical to infer that the largest number of illiterates and semi-illiterates are indigenous and peasants and in particular, women.

This phenomenon can be explained by the following causes:

a) Education has always been a privilege of a few.
b) Literacy is imposed through the teaching of Spanish as a second language.

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c) The literacy process did not take into account the interests and needs of the indigenous peoples and even less the cultural aspect.
d) The indigenous communities are located in remote areas unreached by educational services.
e) A literate population is threatening to the more powerful sectors of society.

Education for illiterate indigenous adults, whatever the approach and conception, has always been alien and insufficient. It does not correspond to the reality of indigenous and peasant communities and therefore does not raise interest. Not even the famous literacy campaigns have managed to have an impact.

Besides, it has become only too obvious that the main objective of the literacy process is precisely to teach how to read and write, i.e. it is after all only an alphabet that is being offered. Regardless of any other motivational factors, it is, at the end of the day, an alphabet in an alien language.

This way of literacy training turns out to be extremely abstract and worthless for indigenous people. It does not help them in their lives, nor does it in any way improve their precarious social and economic situation. In Ecuador indigenous peoples are tired of the state's educational model because it is alienating and authoritarian. It is not respectful of the indigenous people and is imposed on a mass level. The indigenous people, therefore, chose to reinforce their organizations and make their own proposals to the different administrations in turn, regarding an education to meet their needs.

Thus, in 1979, an agreement was signed between the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) and the Catholic Pontifical University of Ecuador (PUCE in Spanish) to face the education demand of the illiterate indigenous sector. The Sub-Programme of Literacy in Quichua was created within the framework of this Agreement. It was addressed to illiterate Quichuas through the Research Center for Indigenous Education (CIEI). It

was the first time indigenous people were allowed to participate in research, production of educational materials, and training as well as in the quality control of the literacy promoters and monitors chosen and appointed by the communities themselves.

The CIEI's work was not limited exclusively to the Quichua population, however. It opened up its field of action to other indigenous nationalities , other peoples and cultures. This work unfortunately was limited to research and the production of printed educational materials.

Despite the difficulties and limitations it faced, the Sub-Programme of Literacy in Quichua had two quite tangible results: firstly, a percentage of the Quichua population became literate, even though it was lower than expected; and secondly, these people reached high levels of awareness of their reality and the national reality. They have also developed the wish to overcome the precarious situation they live in. It should be underlined that the greatest achievement of the literacy training process was the high level of awareness it produced.

Before implementing the literacy sub-programme in Quichua it was necessary to reach a common definition of the Quichua alphabet. This took several meetings of the indigenous organizations since there were several proposals obeying group interests which hindered reaching a common agreement. Partial consensus was reached in March, 1980. It was the sector of the evangelists that were most resistant to the acceptance of the unified 21-character Quichua alphabet. This alphabet is currently being used basically in child education led by the National Programme of Bilingual Intercultural Education (DINEIB) and created via Executive Decree in 1988.

The other indigenous nationalities were far from participating in the literacy training process, at the most they received some written materials.

Once the MEC-PUCE Agreement concluded in 1984, the Sub-Programme of Literacy in Quichua started to stagnate. It was practically

eliminated by Febres Cordero's government !984 - 1988. It managed to survive thanks to the pressure of the indigenous organisation.

The new context of adult education for indigenous peoples: emergence of indigenous organizations

The indigenous people of Ecuador started to organize in the sixties and seventies. The creation of the National Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities in Ecuador (CONAIE), one of the most representative of the six national indigenous organizations reaching approximately 75% of the indigenous population, strengthened this movement in the eighties.

Among the reasons that helped give birth to indigenous organization, were struggles around the following issues:

a) land and territory.
b) the right to a form of education of their own that takes their language and culture into account.
c) creation of new participatory spaces in the country's political life.
d) acknowledgment of their own cultural identity and dignity vis-a-vis national society.
e) acknowledgment of the plurinational, pluricultural, and plurilingual nature of the State in Ecuador.

Demands of indigenous organizations to determine national educational policies

In view of the fact that education in Ecuador is implemented massively, impractically, in an alienating way, blind to the country's pluricultural, plurilingual reality, CONAIE proposed that the State create an education system in agreement with the needs of the indigenous peoples.

Throughout the eighties, the State was pressed to respond to this proposal. The answer was to create, in November, 1988, the National Direction of Bilingual Intercultural Education (DINEIB in Spanish). This

institution was put in charge of the education of indigenous adults in all subsystems, levels and modalities. DINEIB was thus made responsible for literacy-related tasks.

When DINEIB was created, it took responsibility for bilingual intercultural education of the indigenous, whether schooled or not, at all levels and in all modalities. Since then adult education has depended on DINEIB's Department of Permanent Popular Education.

Different approaches have been experimented: from the eminently linguistic approach to education combined with work in order to increase motivation and for the users to have a high level of interest and to create the need to become literate. Most of the literacy centers have disappeared by now to be replaced by job training and handicraft production centers.

In 1992, via Reform Law No. 150, DINEIB managed to get the National Congress to grant it administrative, technical and financial autonomy. This was achieved thanks to the insistence of indigenous organizations and particularly of CONAIE.

Indigenous organizations have played and still play a decisive role in national education policies. They have also contributed to the efforts the Ministry of Education and Culture makes, and will continue to make, in favour of reforming the national education system. The Curricular Reform this Ministry is promoting is to a large extent based on the bilingual intercultural education system model.

Specific issues and practices in adult education for indigenous peoples

Situation of indigenous languages in Ecuador

Before the eighties, issues related to indigenous languages and their communities were of concern to no-one, not even to the State. Since then, indigenous peoples have formulated an educational and cultural policy aiming at recovering and developing their languages. They demanded from the State, specifically from the Ministry of Education and Culture, as well

as from society as a whole, an education that meets their needs, emphasizing their own languages and cultures without neglecting others.

More than 16 years have gone by since then, and in the last eight years there has been an institution (DINIEB) specifically in charge of implementing these policies. The situation the indigenous languages are going through is of concern. The use and development of indigenous languages has hardly advanced. There are permanent forces opposing this policy which hinders its advancement and have almost managed to bring it to a stop.

The introduction of alien cultural elements is causing discomfort and confusion among the communities, particularly in the jungle. The most serious and pernicious thing is the creation of a totally dependant mentality that makes people useless and unable to fully unfold in their own environment.

Use of the non-indigenous language in adult education

The official language has always been privileged in general and in all educational tasks, including adult education. There are only very few programmes and projects which have made use of indigenous languages. At present, popular culture centers and/or job centers are under pressure to replace the use of indigenous languages by the use of Spanish instead.

There is concern for this situation, since it implies a regression in respect to the policy to broaden the use and development of indigenous languages not only in education, but also to meet other communicative needs. The indigenous sector, however, is demanding that education follow the bilingual intercultural approach based on the foundations of their own identity and on what surrounds them in order to later open up to universal knowledge.

Adult education and indigenous women

Until recently, indigenous communities paid no attention to women's education, thus they were not sent to school at all. It was thought that if women were sent to school, they would be spoiled and would become lazy. Under this conception, girls, the future women of the community, were restricted to learning home duties, such as cooking, washing clothes, carrying water, working the land, bringing up children and raising animals.

This is applicable to not only indigenous populations, but also to the rural population in general. Statistics and census clearly show that the largest number of illiterates is constituted by women. It is only recently that indigenous communities have started to reflect on the importance of women's education. Rural education establishments are showing an increase in the number of girls and young women from rural areas attending.

The percentage of illiterate indigenous women benefitting from education, however, remains low. There is still a widespread belief that women to not need to know how to read and write in order to "devote themselves to the home". Indigenous women thus still do not participate significantly.There is much to be done as far as gender is concerned at all levels of formal education and even more in adult education. Women, because they are mothers, play an extremely important role in bringing up children and teenagers with great responsibilities .

Training for the political participation of indigenous people in the national systems and the role of adult education

The adult education programme does not include anything specifically related to training for the political participation of indigenous people. What happens in practice, though, is that the present situation of the country or of the participants, is analyzed at the beginning of the class, in the motivational stage. This, indirectly, prepares them for their future participation in political life within the organisation and in the national system.

Until quite recently, CONAIE had a political training school for leaders of indigenous organizations. However, it is no longer working. At present, there are plans to include political contents within bilingual intercultural education plans in order to guide the political action of future leaders and citizens. In view of the importance of the present political situation in Ecuador, it would be healthy to include the national political aspect (traditional political parties) and new forms of political action based on indigenous practices and ways of thinking in the adult education curricula.

Adult education in the development of indigenous organizations

In general, the first grassroots leaders were illiterate. They were faithful representatives of indigenous organisation forms. They have supported the existence of organizations based on ancestral structures and features with great pride and honour. Nowadays, however, the organizational forms of indigenous peoples are losing power. External organizational forms, with a strong mestizo influence are being implemented instead. Personal or small group interests are prioritized. These small groups have turned into elite groups making decisions which do not always favour the people that originally appointed their members.

Both literacy and job centres could become appropriate spaces in which to discuss and analyze the development and strengthening of indigenous organizations which have only recently started to generate a political philosophy for indigenous peoples which, however, has so far not been able to be put into practice. The demands that have been won so far are the result of organizational force. The only alternative for a better future for indigenous people is the struggle of a well-organized people with clear ideas.

CHAPTER 10

INDIGENOUS REFLECTIONS ON EDUCATION: THE MIXES AND TRIQUIS OF MEXICO

Our Experience in Popular Education

Sofía Robles Hernández

I will be referring to the experience of popular education taking place in Mixe communities in which legal, health and literacy themes are studied mainly in the Mixe language. Sharing this experience might seem very simple. It might also seem that any indigenous people could have gone through this very same experience. This is so, but it is essential to be clear about what we intend and particularly to be clear about our identity as indigenous people who can respond to the situation we are living rather than adopt an attitude of defeat.

Throughout the last 17 years, our activities have assumed various expressions. The original objective, however, remains the same: that is, for the Mixe people to reach comprehensive development. Many people with the ability to sow their ideas among other generations have been participating. Amongst them we have some of our greatest teachers: Floriberto Díaz Gómez, Donato Vargas Pacheco, Erasmo Vargas, all of whom come from Tlahuiltoltepec, a community characterized by its capacity to make proposals, specially regarding education. We are now challenged to continue with the work of these leaders. At a regional level, various projects started to take on shape based on the reflections on education of municipal, educational and communal authorities. At a local level, the Communal Secondary School "El sol de la montaña" ("The Mountain Sun") was strengthened. This school is the result of an initiative taken by the community between 1977 and 1984.

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The Project to Implement Basic Education in Mixe was developed from 1982 to 1984 with the participation of a team of five. Its objectives basicall nclude linguistic and socio-ethnological work. The linguistic work co ts in practising Mixe writing. Linguistic studies preceding our work were also analysed, such as the studies by Friar Quintana (1729), Francisco Belmar (1902), and later on the studies of the Summer Institute of Linguistics effected in different communities. Unfortunately they were not interested in finding an alphabet that would serve the whole region, but instead had objectives of religious nature. This same attitude was made evident not only in Mixe territory, but also in other indigenous regions of Mexico.

Practice itself gave us the elements to move forward. Besides we had the support of friendly linguists who contributed with better tools to analyse our language. With the idea of reaching a unified alphabet applicable to any variant of our language, we came to organise the First Week of Mixe Life and Language promoting the participation of other teams working on our language, such as the Cultural Promoters in Guichicovi (the Mixe lowlands), as well as male and female promoters of the Mixe culture and many other individuals. The six Weeks of Mixe Life and Language celebrated during this first period of 1983 to 1985 were financed by the communities where they were organised. 22 variants of the proposed alphabet were practised.

All these educational activities took place within the organizational framework of the Mixe People which at first (1979 - 1984) lived a boom in the highlands through a Defense Committee of the Mixe Human and Cultural Resources (CODREMI in Spanish) which later on took on the name of Assembly of Mixe Authorities (ASAM in Spanish) which allowed our activities to have a wider coverage.

This is the beginning of literacy programmes for those of us who had already adopted Spanish as the only language to be used in writing.

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As from 1994, we resumed the Weeks of Mixe Life and Language (Second Period) with the aim of continuing with the promotion of reading and writing in Mixe. We were assisted by Mixe teachers specialised in Mixe mathematics and linguistics and, on certain occasions, by external linguists. Mixe mathematics are being taught. In the communities organizing the Week of Mixe Life and Language, the elders are invited to share their knowledge of the community's history or legends. Another of our aims is to socialise the agricultural and ritual calenders among those interested. The fact that the Mixe Weeks are organised in different communities allows a larger amount of people to participate. Age is no obstacle: children, young people and elders can participate. Beginner, intermediate and advanced groups have been created in order to provide better attention levels, to avoid monotony among the students attending longer courses and so that those who do not have a background in literacy may have a chance to participate.

In a few weeks, the advanced participants can become instructors for the beginners. After attending for a whole week, participants can continue to practise writing without difficulty. Within a month's time, they can become literacy instructors of their own language.

So far, nine Mixe Weeks have been organised as part of the second period. This work is to proceed until 1998. This, however, will depend on the resources that are obtained.

In spite of the time that has gone by, we have not yet managed to agree to a unified alphabet. The different teams working at this, still face serious difficulties. We firmly believe that practice will decide which alphabet should be adopted. We must keep in mind that it is all a process. It is necessary to continue discussing the Mixe graphic system and to have our communities evaluate it, thus defining its social orientation, in both the elaboration process and its usage.

It is essential to organise literacy courses in Mixe (or other indigenous languages) since it is a tool to find alternatives to satisfy our community interests and needs.

During 1986, The Assembly of Mixe Authorities (ASAM) made a diagnostic study with which to elaborate a Work Plan to be presented to the incoming governor of the State of Oaxaca. In practice, however, this "Plan to Reorganise the Mixe Economy" is the axis around which all the activities we are undertaking in the region and in other indigenous areas move. Two years ago, we gained access to the training methodology of the Rural Development Programme of the INCA-FAO. We adjusted these techniques to our own conditions. This methodology proposes encouraging the peasants on their own to reflect, analyse, and hierarchically classify their problems in common in order to look for feasible alternatives that they may implement by themselves or through negotiating with institutions. Thus emerged the assembly-forum method (which includes drawing among its activities). In this way we managed to get different communities to visualise, prioritise and propose solutions to their problems

The advantage of the ASAM fora is that everybody can express their opinion whether they can read and write or not. Besides, the assembly is a mechanism that is implemented in all communities, the only difference is that here we are including writing and drawing in order to systematise information with the assistance of community facilitators.

The Academy of Indigenous Rights, emerged in 1988, is based on this same participation and reflection technique. We are aware that within our communities we do not all have the same opportunities to study. That is why ASAM considers training to be of great importance, particularly if we want to become an autonomous people able to determine our own future.

Throughout 1988, 1989 and 1990, communal land-holders from various communities of the Mixe people and other peoples of the state of Oaxaca, both female and male, as well as members of the Nahuatl people

in the state of Puebla, were trained in monthly one-week long courses and/or workshops.

Legal training was initiated because of our need to become our own defendants regardless of the technical legal support we may receive from good-willed lawyers. Time has gone by and results are starting to show. Communal land-holders are already heading defense initiatives in different organisational spaces. This effort, however, has so far been insufficient since many community members are still in need of training.

In recent years, numerous workshops on constitutional articles 4 and 27, have been organised and implemented directly in the communities. The same methodology is applied as is used at the assemblies and fora: to gather into small groups in order to reflect about the contents of the articles in their own language. The communal land-holders of different communities, such as Santiago Tuxtla (in the Mixe lowlands), Santa Cruz Yagavila (belonging to the Zapoteca people of the district of Ixtlan), and Chichicaxtepec (in the Mixe highlands), to mention a few only, got into groups and spent several sessions studying the Communal Statutes, which are essential to ensure their right over their communal lands.

The ILO Convention 169 is one of the most important international tools we use in our training courses. We focus on training of this type because the communities are not reached by the information the mass media disseminate (newspapers and the radio, basically). And even when it does get to them, that does not necessarily imply that it is clearly understood. Many communities have no idea what is going on at a national level. That is why it is important to first undertand the message and then analyse, compare and make proposals.

Even local authorities have rejected the consultation processes the government suddenly implements since indigenous people have a pace of their own which is not respected. They prefer to implement their own consultation process based on their own dynamics.

Since consultation services are widely requested by the communities themselves, we decided to reinforce the Academy of Indigenous Rights of the Mixe Assembly (ADIASAM in Spanish) created in 1988. The original principles were maintained, but new themes were introduced and they adopted a perspective of their own. The challenge at present is to let our imagination go and look for appropriate strategies to reach our goals and aspirations. We have two years in which to implement monthly one-week long workshops in the city of Oaxaca or in the communities. 24 workshops in total will be organised and implemented (12 a year) from August 1996 to July, 1998.

In brief, the themes that will be addressed are as follows:

- Basic Rights of Indigenous Peoples (people, culture, free-determination, land and territory, indigenous rights).
- Basic Law.
- Themes related to anthropology, literature and linguistics.

We are well aware that we are not training people to work for institutions. We are training people to respond to community needs from a state of awareness and mindfulness. Our aim is to train people to be creative and critical at all times and to enable them to reflect about their own problems and issues in their own community spaces.

Methodology

It is evident that we are not appiying a methodology of our own. The methodology we use has been enriched with other experiences and bibliographic references (from Freire to Freinet) that we have adjusted to our own needs and realities. Our principle is to set out from practice, from what people do, know, live and feel in the different life situations they face. We thus complement the original methodology.

We also aim at developing a process that produces theory, not in terms of a theoretical leap, but as a systematic, organised, progressive process respecting the pace of the participants themselves. The group will thus be able to gradually discover theoretical elements and to advance as a whole. This process enables us to place everyday, personal and fragmented issues within a social, collective, historical and structural framework.

This process of dialectic theorisation must always allow us to return to practice in order to transform, improve and solve, i.e. to return with new elements in order to learn about the situation and the way we feel about it so that we may later on explain and understand reality from a holistic and scientific point of view. This ought to enable us to take on commitments and tasks, such as the reforms to the Code of Electoral Policies in the state of Oaxaca, with more awareness.

So far, we have stressed on the importance of the ASAM fora, the Mixe Language and Life Week, and ADIASAM. Our activities as an association, however, go beyond this. Our aim is to achieve the full and comprehensive development of the Mixe people through programmes in the following fields: economy, production, women, communication and dissemination.

A Personal Critique of Adult Education

Fausto Sandoval Cruz

The purpose of the following text is to be a kind of critical self-evaluation, a confession if you will, focusing on "adult education" processes. Hopefully, this will help us to understand and to improve them.

My first contact with adult education took place when I was fifteen years old and studying second grade of secondary school. The headmaster encouraged us to teach literacy and basic mathematics evening courses for adults. We could thus improve our marks. I then took it for granted that these adults were less educated than I.

Fifteen years later, I was invited by the Mexican Institute of Adult Education (INEA in Spanish) to participate in writing books to teach people how to read and write in Triqui, one of the indigenous languages spoken in the state of Oaxaca. Since we actually lived in that area, we were well aware of the fact that one of the most urgent needs of the indigenous people was to learn to speak Spanish not only in order to defend themselves from the outer world, but also to communicate and have access to the mass media. We thus proposed that educational materials be prepared to teach people how to read and write in their own language, Triqui, as well as the Spanish language. Unfortunately, the proposal was rejected since the institution's policies addressed literacy only.

When the books we had written arrived, we started to promote them by inviting people to join literacy courses. Most people did not accept, arguing that it would bring them no benefit at all, since it would not get them a job, for example.

Later on people from San Andrés Chicahuaxtla and other surrounding villages started to attend the literacy courses on a more regular basis. The state government, through an NGO, organised a literacy programme that included giving participants a weekly basket of foodstuffs. Besides, it gave

the instructors a symbolic stipend. Once financing came to an end, however, people stopped participating.

I used to think that programmes of this kind failed or succeeded depending on the economic resources the promoters were assigned. But then I had the opportunity to receive a grant from a foundation and had support to implement an information programme using videos in Triqui. The first programme that was made referred to the problem of waste.

We expected people to soon start recycling their waste but it did not happen. What the local authorities and the community did was to discuss the problem in an assembly which decided to throw the municipality's garbage a little further away from the village. It was nevertheless the first time this problem was discussed collectively.

These events forced us to start reflecting in a self-critical way: Whose mistake was it? Were the adult education promoters to blame or the adults themselves who are unable to acknowledge that they need to study? How does one decide that an adult is lacking education?

I remember that when we started to write the books, we would consider potential users as people with a certain handicap because they did not know how to read and write and did not speak Spanish. We were then sure, as we still are, that from an intellectual point of view, learning to read and write in our own language enriches our culture since this increases the number of tools we may have to recreate our culture. But, is this not more of a dream of the intellectuals rather than a real need felt by the people who do not know how to read or write?

My mother, as all wise women in our community, knows how to read her surroundings. At night she watches the stars, and she knows when the sun is about to rise. In the kitchen she can tell if a shower of rain is approaching by the movement of the cinders on the hearth. People in our community who had access to ancient teachings, can read the signs nature and animals give us. Most of them never went to school and have faced their lives with all its failures and successes. Statistics, however, consider

them illiterate and therefore as potential clients for adult education programmes. It is easy to conclude that when someone feels he or she has the elements with which to live, they will not look for new things to learn and even less if it is others who are deciding what has to be learnt.

In 1989, a group of teachers constituting a "cultural mission" arrived in Chicahuaxtla, the village I belong to, in order to teach courses on building, blacksmithing, carpentry, nursing, sewing, agriculture and cooking. They were in our community for two years only. The first three courses were the most successful. Why was this? There had been a previous need to learn. Since the seventies, houses had started to be built with concrete. At first, builders, blacksmiths and carpenters came from elsewhere. The local villagers soon realised that they could make a living by learning these skills. When they had the chance to learn, they did so. The builders, blacksmiths and carpenters who currently build houses, now belong to the community itself.

But, who defines learning needs? and how? From my point of view, learning needs can be defined either individually or collectively. Individual demands originate from life itself, whereas collective demands originate from the capacity the collective (the whole of society) has to seek the common good. I think the definition of collective learning needs actually points to long-term objectives. Things get more complicated because each one of us belongs to different collectives at different levels. Our community may seem very close to us whereas the country or the world may seem so far away. Attention must be paid to the learning needs defined in each one of these levels.

Sometimes the need for literacy seems to belong to the country as such rather than to the people involved themselves. I noticed this when I was promoting literacy courses and the Head Department of the institution in charge of adult education would insist on having at least 100 people registered. The authorities were thus provided with false figures.

What is to be done? The blows we have received from experience have shown us that good processes result from multiple negotiation processes and exchanges. Subsidised processes can easily become artificial. When learning needs are defined, specially for indigenous peoples, a one-way path is followed: the adult must learn skills generated in a different culture. Planners should be more sensitive and acknowledge that it is better to travel along a two-way road. Life quality drops in cultures that have lost vital elements. By re-learning those previously lost elements, they thus recover the lost qualities in part.

In the Triqui community, a small sector of people have yet to recognise the need both to learn how to use the written word as a tool from their own perspective, and to define the recovery of the knowledge generated by our own culture, which we have so far forgotten. Whether this need becomes collective, depends on the persuasion, exchange and negotiation skills of this sector.

CHAPTER 11

CAPACITY BUILDING: LESSONS FROM THE LITERACY CAMPAIGN OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE GUARANI PEOPLE OF BOLIVIA

Luis Enrique López

"We are standing again,
but we won't say as used to be said in Kuruyuki
that we are going to fight or make war
with arrows and sticks,
we now struggle with notebooks,
with pencils, with our intelligence. . .".

Mateo Chumira,
General Captain of the Kaaguasu Zone

Overcoming invisibility and silence

According to recent estimates, the Guaraní population represents close to 70,000 or 80,000 inhabitants (Albó, 1995) distributed in different areas of the country. Its main enclave, however, is the Cordillera Province of the Santa Cruz Department bordering with Paraguay. Although the 1992 National Population Census refers to approximately 50,000 Guaraní-speakers, their political organization has repeatedly argued that official figures underestimate the real demographic density of this people and is therefore also underestimating the importance and relevance it has for not only the country as a whole, but particularly in the regions where they are a majority.

To back this argument, it should be recalled that this kind of census provides data regarding languages spoken only by those who are over 5 or 6 years old. As is the case with most poor indigenous populations, the

number of inhabitants under five is quite high in general. It should likewise be noted that a national census does not always collect information from remote areas which is where indigenous communities live. Furthermore, census interviews and questions may be considered inhibiting factors by indigenous people not wanting to reveal their actual linguistic affiliation due to the low social prestige their culture and language have in the countries they form part of.

Things have not been easy for the Guaranís in Bolivia. Until recently, they had been considered foreigners in their own territory, ever since they arrived at the dry forests in northern Chaco and the inter-ethnic wars and alliances of more than five centuries ago. At first, they were hardly bothered. They arrived almost at the same time as the white men and their presence had hardly been noticed. They therefore started to consider the forests their own.

More than four hundred years later, while the country was pursuing its consolidation as a nation-state, the Guaranís' future was exposed to danger. In 1892, at the Kuruyuki battle, the Guaranís lost their last war against the Bolivian State and close to five thousand *kereimba* (warrior leaders) were exterminated. Their leader, ApiaguaikiTumpa, was executed, their communities were destroyed and their land re-distributed among officials of the victorious army and settlers interested in turning the forest into grazing and agricultural lands. Under the influence of Franciscans and some farmers, *haciendas* (landed estates) had been introduced in nearby lands some decades before (see Pifarré, 1989, Albó, 1990). Land trespassing and the violation of independence gave rise to armed disputes and minor rebellions. After this great war, the Guaranís were vanished to higher and less productive lands, the cordillera, reduced to Franciscan monasteries or forced to live as slaves on the properties of Chaco's new owners.

Nowadays, most Guaranís are bilingual with a relatively good command of Spanish. A socio-linguistic survey effected in 1989 with 316

informants, both male and female, belonging to 18 rural communities of one of the provinces inhabited by Guaranís, identified 80.5% of the interviewed people as bilinguals and only 19.5% as monolingual Guaraní-speakers (see Lopez *et al.*, 1990). 91.4% considered Guaraní their mother tongue. Only 6.3% were native Spanish-speakers. 2.3% stated they had learnt both languages simultaneously. When asked how old they had been when they had started to learn Spanish, a large number (54.7%) said this had happened either upon joining school, i.e., between five and eight years of age, or during the second or third year of primary school. Very few (9.1%) expressed having learnt Spanish before going to school.

A large number of Guaranís, however, do not learn Spanish at school only. 51.7% expressed that traveling had helped them learn the new language. Cities were identified as the most important places to learn Spanish. The Guaranís travel a lot to large cities and other urban centres (59.5%). They often take their youngest children with them with the purpose, among others, of their learning the language. The diagnosis, however, showed that strictly-speaking this kind of learning could not be explained by one factor alone. It is necessary to consider a whole set of factors that contribute to the learning of Spanish. The identified combinations are: school, radio, traveling, working with Spanish-speakers, joining the army and marketing their products among Spanish-speakers (*Ibid*).

The command Guaranís have of Spanish, nevertheless, does not necessarily result from having abandoned their mother tongue, as normally occurs. There are very few cases of rural communities in which the new generations go though a process of substractive bilingualism in order to end up communicating exclusively in Spanish. It is much more common to find a functional distribution of a diglossic nature in which Spanish is used in more formal situations and Guaraní for everyday communication and the kind of verbal behaviour pertaining to indigenous communities and domestic situations.

In this context, peer communication is conveyed through Guaraní. Particularly when interaction takes place at home (74.3%), in parties and local celebrations, cooperation, group or community work (86.7%), unless the other party is a shopkeeper (48.4%) and thus, in general, an outsider. It should be noted that the younger the people involved, the more Spanish is used in interpersonal relations in any of the above-mentioned domains. When this happens, they go for a bilingual strategy and they change codes, except when the psychosociolinguistic context demands only Spanish be used.

The use of the dominant language may increase when the surrounding context is predominantly or exclusively Spanish-speaking and the Guaraní communities are an actual minority. This is the case of 30 rural communities in predominantly Spanish-speaking Department of Tarija. A recent study (1994) discovered that none of these communities were monolingual Guaraní-speakers. Twelve of them used Spanish equally or even more than Guaraní throughout the day.

The progress of verbal behaviour and attitudes leading to monolingualism in Spanish can be halted by reinforcing communal bonds among the Guaranís, and rediscovering their ethnic, cultural, and linguistic features. This new situation is intimately related to the emergence of a very powerful ethnic and political organization called the Assembly of the Guaraní People (APG in Spanish). The APG resulted from the organization and implementation of small development projects in rural communities.

Development plans include activities in four areas: production, infrastructure, health and education. They have been actively working on education since 1989 when it was decided to give birth to a bilingual intercultural education project. Three years later, the original project resulted in a highly successful literacy and campaign for promoting Guarani culture with a very broad coverage. The campaign was organized, firstly to commemorate the first one hundred years after their last defeat as well as the five hundredth anniversary of European invasion.

For close to a decade, the Guaranís have been going through a process of ethnic and cultural strengthening which started when highly educated Guaranís became aware of the situation their people were living. Their awareness levels increased in 1983, under the government of the Democratic Popular Unity, when Bolivia started to question the quality and relevance of its education system based exclusively on Spanish. It has since then become commonplace to refer to Bolivia as a multiethnic, pluricultural, and multilingual country. It was also at the beginning of this period that Guaraní leaders met to approve the unification of the Guaraní alphabet under the guidance of anthropologists, linguists, and educationalists working with them.

It is not an exaggeration to state that a pan-Guaraní identity is being created thanks to these campaigns and to the commitment taken on by the APG. It has become common for people to identify themselves first as Guaranís and then as members of a specific community. Education, particularly bilingual intercultural education as well as the Guaraní language have become basic tools for the empowerment of this people.

Discovering literacy as a tool for awareness-raising and social mobilization

Since 1988, four years before the literacy campaign began, the Bilingual Intercultural Education Project, a bilingual intercultural education programme, was successfully implemented in the Guaraní region. It was part of a larger initiative comprising pilot schools in the three sociolinguistic regions with the largest number of Quechua, Aymara and Guaraní speakers, in this order.

Although the organization representing the Quechua and Aymara peoples, the Trade Union Confederation of Peasant Workers of Bolivia (CSUTCB in Spanish), also participated in the Quechua- and Aymara-speaking zones, different dynamics emerged in the relation between the organization and the project, together with the characteristics and inner

functioning of the APG, generated different dynamics. CSUTCB participated more at a leadership level (*petite commité*), whereas APG was more of a grassroots organization. Of course it is essential to take into account the main differences, particularly of demographic nature, between indigenous peoples from the Andes and from the West. In spite of being the third language in importance, the Guaranís only account for between 70 and 80,000 people *vis-a-vis* one and a half million Aymaras and two and a half million Quechuas.

In September, 1989, there was a first large-scale meeting with close to 100 representatives of a practically equal number of Guaraní communities. The situation of education in the region was discussed in order to make informed decisions regarding the implementation or not of a bilingual education programme. Some of us professionals who had supported and oriented the survey and first actions of the Guaraní project were also present. Upon being confronted by the idea of a pilot or experimental project, the participants became restless and broke up into actively interacting small groups or pairs among whom the discussion, per usual in Spanish, took place in Guaraní.

Without losing calm, the way arguments are discussed and defended in this indigenous culture, they expressed their conclusion in a clear and unmistakable way: they did not want their experience to be called experimental or pilot. Experiments, they argued, are an invention of the *karais* in order to test something for a while only to afterwards abandon it, arguing that it does not work. They were clear that education had to be based on common understanding and on helping children and adults to develop as human beings. From this point of view, it was only natural to use Guaraní.

They expressed their belief that education in Spanish only did not work since it is not the language children speak fluently at the age of six. The Guaranís insisted that they needed our help as experts in order to

implement their bilingual education programme in their own terms and according to their own ideas.

The decision of the APG made us change both the concept and name of the project. It also implied reassuring them that none of the professionals or institutions involved in the project saw it as a transitory activity or as something merely academic The assembly insisted on being guaranteed the project was not transitional neither in terms of duration nor regarding the use that was to be made of their ancestral language and culture.

Once the *impasse* was solved, the community started to ask relevant questions such as those related to the alphabet that was to be used, the teacher training techniques and the schools that were to be chosen to start the projects. In relation to the alphabet, questions were asked regarding the system that was to be employed and certain symbols.

We once again had to face a different and at the same time powerful point of view:

> bilingual education could not be approached in isolation. It had to be developed in relation to PISET (standing for production, infrastructure, health, education and territory) and the Guaraní development plan. The schools to be chosen should therefore be placed in communities in which the Guaraní development plan was being implemented or where there were PISET work groups. School, bilingual education, productive projects and development plan are thus considered to constitute an inseparable unity.

I have described the APG meeting of September 1989 in order to show to what extent the Guaranís are involved in developing their own education programme. By becoming directly involved in the development of its bilingual programme, the APG was searching for solutions for the

future generations of Guaranís. It could not have been otherwise, since its development plan included education as one of five key aspects with health, production, infrastructure and territory.

The 1992-93 Campaign

The progress shown by the children participating in the Guaraní bilingual programme even after only one year of implementation, was one of the factors that mobilized the Guaranis around the need to read and write. This influence, however, goes beyond the cognitive spheres and is closely related to emotional aspects.

Once the bilingual programme was applied, the parents started to become aware of changes in their children's behaviour both at and outside school: they became extroverted, they were no longer ashamed to speak in Guaraní in front of a Spanish-speaker, they liked to go to school and they even enjoyed their homework. Both parents and communal leaders concluded that the change was due to the use of Guaraní at school and of the fact that for the very first time teachers and students could communicate easily since they both spoke the same language.

Arguments like these inspired the APG leaders to claim the need for a large-scale literacy campaign as the main event of the commemoration of the first hundred years since the Kuruyuki Battle in 1892 in which they had been defeated by the Bolivian army. Leaders who had closely followed the application of bilingual education in schools, became aware of the mobilizing effect education had when it was linked to the ancestral language. They thought Guaraní could become a resource enabling linguistic awareness to develop, thus allowing them to reach their political objectives and to construct a more powerful and cohesive organization.

It was in this context that the idea emerged to organize a literacy campaign including two different but complementary lines of action: one for absolute or functional illiterates, and another for those who could not read or write in their mother tongue although they were literate. Since the

idea of the 1992 campaign sprang from the experience the APG leaders had accumulated through their bilingual education programme, there was no doubt about which language was to be used in the campaign. It was to take place in Guaraní and would give priority to the development of reading and writing skills and how to best use the mother tongue. Once this was achieved, these skills could then be transferred to reading and writing in Spanish.

Although the decision was clear, there were several stumbling blocks to overcome: the controversy regarding the official alphabet; the lack of written materials excepting the texts of the bilingual programme; the low number of few people who could read and write in their ancestral language, among whom were the bilingual teachers who had no time to take on the technical leadership of the new programme. Although the stumbling blocks were serious, the APG leaders thought that nobody would oppose the objectives they had traced particularly since it was a question of becoming the cornerstone of the history of the Guaraní people.

The planning process started in 1991, after a three-day meeting in which men and women from approximately 120 communities, exchanged points of view about the campaign. A central organization committee was appointed and UNICEF organized a complete support structure hiring a Bolivian NGO to accompany the process and give technical assistance to the APG leaders committed with the planning process.

The first step was to identify potential literacy trainers who, as part of their training, applied a census to identify the situation of illiteracy among their people. The purpose was not only to collect information, which was needed anyway, but also to initiate the trainees into the discovery of the Guaraní reality, particularly identifying their brothers' needs and claims. As a result, almost for the first time since the Kuruyuki defeat, Guaraní people from different ethnic and dialectal sub-groups met and became aware of the people's needs. The most highly organized people made note of the

particularly difficult conditions as well as of the needs of the landless who practically lived under slavery.

The census was successful particularly in respect to the social and political awareness of the Guaranís. Interviewers and interviewees were confronted with issues they had not been able to talk about with each other before. Close to 10,000 adults, both men and women, were interviewed in approximately 180 communities belonging to 11 previously identified zones. Through this process, several hundred people who were interviewed became aware of the situation their brothers lived.

Preparing materials

Workshops were organized to train the members of the technical team how to prepare materials. Issues regarding the Guaraní alphabet and the norms and procedures to write Guaraní were discussed. These workshops included the analysis of materials in other Amerindian languages as well as in Spanish; reading and writing exercises to encourage the transference of decodifying skills acquired in Spanish and other related languages, like Portuguese and Italian, to reading in Guaraní; fieldwork with the elders in order to recover and reactivate words or expressions fallen into disuse or even forgotten, as well as consultation with bilingual programme specialists producing primary school textbooks in Guaraní.

After the new Guaraní writers had become familiar with the language's basic structures, having discovered the main differences between Guaraní and Spanish and between one Guaraní dialect and the other, a second phase started in which the structure and characteristics of the materials that were to be prepared were discussed. After analyzing a broad spectrum of themes related to Guaraní life, a thematic structure was elaborated collectively from a double perspective: on the one hand, the materials would emphasize the Guaraní way of being (*Ñande reko*), on the other, they would have to make reference to social and political processes characterizing the APG. Each lesson, therefore, included culturally relevant themes such as descriptions

of everyday activities, myths and legends, together with themes related to the Guaraní development plan: PISET. It was based on five activity areas: production, infrastructure, health, education, and territory. All these themes were organized under the general title of *"Tataendi"* (eternal fire). This was the *leitmotiv* around which the whole literacy and Guarani campaign was organized. *Tataendi* is an important concept in the Guaraní culture since each home has a fire in the centre of the main room where people get together to talk throughout the day. The technical team members considered that this notion might be a useful metaphor to describe the ethnic, cultural and linguistic rebirth process they were going through. The Guaraní culture was the fire that had never died and was rekindling once again.

Campaign beginnings and development

As foreseen, the General Guaraní Literacy and Guaranisation Campaign began on January 28, 1992 in Kuruyuki, the place where the massacre had taken place in 1892. 6000 people participated in the inauguration ceremony. People had come from all over, including Guaraní communities in Argentina and Paraguay. Contrary to the predictions of the ruling class, the President of the Republic and several members of his cabinet, including the Minister of Education, participated in the event.

It was the first time a President had visited Guaraní territory. It was also the first time a president recognized the reality of the Kuruyuki massacre and apologized for it. The presidential speech referred to the changes in social policies and in the acknowledgement of Bolivia as an eminently indigenous country and promised there would never be another Kuruyuki. This was an unforgettable experience for the Guaranís.

A fortnight later, the first training workshop started with 68 people attending. At the beginning of March, 1992, a pilot phase of the campaign was initiated simultaneously in 9 communities with 1,151 people working for a period of 12 weeks. There were three more stages. Altogether a total of 12,000 people were covered: 55.3% women, 44.7%, men (*Proceso*,

1993). Out of the 12,000 adults, 56% participated in literacy programmes in Guaraní and the remaining 44% in Guarani.).

Lessons learnt

1. Comprehensive approaches and indivisibility of the indigenous reality

One of the lessons the Guaraní experience teaches relates to an aspect which is often disregarded in formulating projects in indigenous areas. When bilingual education was originally proposed for the Guaraní area, the participating specialists and the cooperation agency involved, UNICEF, concentrated all our efforts and analyses on the situation of education in order to identify strategies and mechanisms which could contribute to improving the situation. The Guaraní proposal in this respect was clear: education and school issues cannot be seen in isolation from other aspects affecting reality. For them it was clear that bilingual education was part of a global strategy and of a broader action plan that included different aspects of reality. Education and the specific project we were discussing with them fell under PISET (standing for production, infrastructure, health, education and territory) and within the general framework of the rebirth of the Guaraní people and the revitalization of their identity and culture.

Years later, in an academic education planning experience at a university level, to plan two master degrees in bilingual intercultural education for indigenous professionals of five regional countries (Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile and Bolivia), the indigenous leaders consulted before and after the first draft of the curricular proposal of the PROEIB (Training Programme in Intercultural Bilingual Education) of the Andes reiterated their point of view: beware of over-specialization. There is a risk of isolating linguistic, anthropological, and educational themes from the general context in which they should have been placed: the life project of American indigenous peoples in their struggle for survival in the context of rampant globalization.

What often happens is that our Western perspective is biased by our disciplined formation and our tendency to specialize which in certain cases makes us miss the global vision of situations and the need for approaches to be comprehensive. In the Guaraní case, the educational experiences briefly described above, had to be seen from the general political framework elaborated by the Guaraní people. In this context, it became easier for those involved to become aware of the fact that Guaraní speakers themselves considered their language and culture as strategic resources in the framework of their revitalization as a people and their ethnic reassertion in the national context of Bolivia. This situation determined that the cooperation agency itself propose, together with the Guaranís, a comprehensive development scheme (PROGUARANI) to give support to PISET.

The specific education activities that were being developed were thus inserted into this broader scheme.

2. Adult education and collective and organizational strengthening

The Guaranís, like most indigenous organizations, repeatedly insist on the relation between the formation process and organizational development. Indigenous people consider formation processes not only in terms of individual skill improvement, but also as an opportunity for collective growth: the more people are educated, the better for the people as a whole. This explains why they often suggest conditions to operate educational programmes that we find difficult to accept.

In the Guaraní case, this relation was self-evident. Guaraní popular educators, who were to work for the literacy and Guarani language campaign without pay, were to benefit from this activity by learning how to teach literacy courses and Guaraní. That is why they had to be proposed by the community they belonged to and in the end be chosen by their political organization: the APG. They could thus be controlled socially and be accountable for their acts. The most important thing was that thereby

more than 400 popular educators were trained at the same time as they were preparing to become potential cadres for the organization itself.

The same happened with the Andes' PROEIB in spite of being a university level specialization. The indigenous organizations of each country want and need to be guaranteed that once the indigenous professionals are trained at an M.A. level, they come back to their country, region and community of origin in order to there contribute to improve the quality of indigenous education. That is why they demand there be a close link between the university programme and the indigenous organization and insist on a joint decision-making mechanism.

They therefore request each selected student be endorsed by an indigenous organization and sign with them a sort of contract obliging them to pay back the people and organization with what they have learnt. Thus, as a Colombian indigenous leader stated, "they will not escape from us and will always be where we need them in order to advance as a people".

3. Adult and school education

The Guaraní literacy and language experience illustrates this relation seldom taken into account even in non-indigenous contexts: a lack of relation between literacy for adults and formal school processes. In the case we are concerned with, the need and motivation for this campaign was an unforeseen outcome of the involvement of the Guaranís and their organization in the leadership and implementation of a programme of bilingual education for children. It was based on this involvement that parents felt the need, and perhaps even the curiosity , to learn how to read and write in their own language. In fact they even enjoyed this experience.

Once again, it is a case of not losing the comprehensive nature of the approach and not to undertake education programmes in isolation. In indigenous communities and families, everybody learns and everybody educates regardless of age. Children, boys and girls, learn by accompanying their father and/or mother in specific tasks or activities. When a mother

attends a literacy course, her younger children accompany her and are present, one way or another, in the sessions and, therefore, also learn.

In the Guaraní case, the campaign would at times coincide with bilingual education at school. Parents and children participated in learning sessions related to the Guaraní language and culture development and improvement. Why not think of actions of this sort in which adults and children participate in parallel but intimately related educational programmes? It should be noted how artificial clearly cut divisions between formal and non-formal education seem to the indigenous world, or even worse divisions between informal, formal and non-formal education.

4. The indigenous language and written form as empowerment tools

One of the campaign's most important results related to preparing 557 popular educators for adults, 79% men, recruited from adults and young people who had concluded their primary school education or had unfinished secondary school studies. They are the modern *kereimba* with pencils, paper and particularly intelligence imagined by Don Mateo.

For these *kereimba*, the campaign allowed them to discover their skills and potential that had remained hidden behind their limited command of Spanish. They flourished with the Guaraní language. They became creative and bright. They were so different when they spoke Spanish that they could easily be misinterpreted. School, taught in Spanish only, had denied them the possibility to discover that the Guaranís were like any other human being: capable of taking initiatives, creative, motivated to improve and change life conditions for their people. Popular educators discovered that they could literally do much more now that they had their own language than before when they had been forced to communicate in Spanish only. They started to compose songs, rhymes and poems. They would create more or less long stories and they could even write objective descriptions of their socio-economic situation as well as clear political manifestos.

During the training workshops, time was devoted to analyze and discuss dialectal variations of Guaraní. For many, this was the first opportunity to openly discuss themes such as linguistic issues with their peers These themes had generally been considered irrelevant or domain of specialists. They had therefore been unable to analyze them. The time spent analyzing issues such as the Guaraní alphabet, dialectal variations, standardization, writing norms, and procedures to enrich vocabulary were very fruitful in terms of the linguistic awareness all this process was raising among Guaraní speakers.This had a significative impact on their self-esteem and helped awaken a feeling of self-confidence, personal security and self-regulation.

Finally, through their involvement in the campaign, these popular educators also discovered what it meant to be Guaraní. They also realized the importance of organizing a campaign around themes related to their language and culture. They even incorporated that modern organizational dimension represented by the APG and its grassroots structures. The Guaraní case surprised many and it even surprised those of us who one way or another were involved in its development. We had originally not believed neither in education´s capacity to mobilize nor in the language and culture themselves. Thanks to all the gods, we were shown a different lesson. As some of the *kereimbas* explicitly pointed out: the campaign had changed them. What they did not notice was that the campaign and relating with them had also changed us, the non-indigenous.

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PART IV

TOWARDS A GLOBAL AGENDA FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

CHAPTER 12

DEVELOPMENT, POWER AND IDENTITY: THE CHALLENGE OF INDIGENOUS EDUCATION

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Over the past decade, the Melanesian countries of Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu have proved to be key sites for innovation in adult education by and for indigenous peoples. Some of the most significant achievements of the movement for community based popular education in Melanesia will be discussed and analysed in this presentation. Particular attention will be paid to how indigenous peoples of the region have attempted to reassert control over their educational process, thereby setting in motion an interaction between theory and practice that has allowed them to redefine themselves and their relationships to literacy, pedagogy, gender, culture, democracy, and human rights, according to their traditional relationships to language, custom, community, labour, and land.

The Melanesian countries of Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu are without doubt the most linguistically and culturally pluralistic nations in the world. Their 4.5 million people speak 1,000-plus distinct languages, each of which normally encompasses several separate dialects and cultural complexes. No indigenous linguistic or ethnic group predominates, either politically or numerically in any of the three countries. The indigenous knowledge of the peoples of Melanesia have given them the ability to construct truly multicultural and pluralistic societies which have lasted for tens of thousands of years.

The movement for indigenous education in Melanesia has initiated a series of attempts to question and redefine the term 'indigenous people'. The first breakthrough in this process of reflection came in 1989, as the people of Papua New Guinea (PNG) were being forced to submit to the first World Bank/International Monetary Fund (WB/IMF) Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) ever imposed in Melanesia. Community animators (popular educators) began to compare the situation of the peoples of

Melanesia with that of the other peoples of the world who had already experienced SAPs. As time went on, the questions of labour and land came to the fore, since these seemed at once to be the areas of major difference between Melanesians and the rest of the Adjusted World, as well as being the target areas for the WB/IMF agenda in PNG (World Bank 1964, Faraclas 1994).

Community education workers began to wonder why the WB/IMF has always targeted indigenous control over land as a major impediment to development. The following quote from the first page of a report that was influential in persuading the Vanuatu government to sign on to an SAP in 1994, is almost a direct quote of a passage that appeared on the first page of the report of the very first WB mission to Papua New Guinea in 1964 (World Bank 1964):

> *"The system of customary ownership (sic) of land, as elsewhere in the Pacific, acts as a serious constraint on economic growth because conversion to other uses is difficult and transfer of title is virtually impossible. As a result of these factors...the motivation to participate in the modern economy is not strong" (Fallon 1994:3).*

Indigenous educators also wondered why Melanesian wage levels have been consistently described by the WB/IMF as excessively high, despite the fact that even before wages were drastically cut in PNG as a result of SAP, a worker being paid the minimum wage could afford to buy less food than the rations given to a single slave during the period of Pacific Slavery, when Melanesians were taken to plantations in Australia by the British and to Samoa by the Germans.

Popular educators began to realise that because Melanesians have retained their indigenous control over land under customary law, they have enough food and housing security in the traditional economy to bargain

from a position of strength in the cash economy. If the terms offered by the boss are not good enough, a Melanesian can at any time go back to his or her gardens or fishing grounds, where he or she will always be certain to be employed, fed, and housed by the customary economy. In other words, indigenous control over land gives a person control over his or her labour.

When Melanesians do traditional work, such as gardening, hunting, or fishing, they are in control over how and when they do their work and they and their communities enjoy the full value of the fruits of their labours. Non-indigenous peoples must work under the control of a boss, and the company enjoys most of the fruits of their labour. If the companies could somehow get control over the land in Melanesia, they would not only gain control over the considerable resources on and under the land, they would also gain control over the labour of the people of Melanesia.

This new consciousness was deepened by an attempt to reexamine Melanesian history in a critical way, juxtaposing Eurocentric history with Melanesian histories and the histories written by other colonised peoples in Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

It was discovered that the major difference between the peoples of Melanesia and other peoples suffering from structural adjustment is that the peoples of Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu still have real indigenous power over their land and their labour. For this reason and this reason alone, Melanesians have not yet had to resort to the selling of babies, the abandonment of children on the city streets, the prostitution of girls, the marketing of body parts, child slavery, and the other desperate survival strategies that are becoming more and more common among the growing numbers of landless and jobless families of the Adjusted World.

Community education workers began to realise that what the Minority World calls 'civilisation' has nothing to do with empowerment or a better quality of life for the majority of the people. They found that people are called 'civilised' only if they accept that someone else controls their land, their labour, and their lives. But indigenous peoples who insist on

controlling their own land, labour, and lives and who do not accept domination are called 'primitive' or 'savage'. Many adult educators were surprised to learn that it was much more difficult for the Europeans to conquer and control so-called 'primitive' indigenous societies who were less patriarchal and hierarchical than it was for them to conquer the more hierarchical and patriarchal societies whom they called 'civilised'. It became apparent that the 'civilisation' process has historically meant the disempowerment and impoverishment of the majority at the expense of the minority and the destruction of indigenous peoples' power over their land, labour, communities, languages, and customs.

Melanesian popular educators came to realise that because the peoples of Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu have managed to retain their identity as indigenous peoples, they have been able to retain their control over their land and their labour. In contrast, most of the peoples of the other countries living under SAPs had lost their indigenous identities, and therefore no longer had power over their land and their labour. It became clear that to have control over land and labour is an essential part of what it means to be an indigenous person in Melanesia.

Instead of using the usual analysis of colonialism, which sees colonised people as objects or victims of European control, popular educators in Melanesia decided to explore how Melanesians have become the subjects of their own oppression. While the importance of guns and ships is often recognised in the process of colonial conquest, the role of trade goods is not. European cargo or trade goods, such as alcoholic beverages, tobacco and other commodities which have an addictive effect on those who consume them, began to erode Melanesian's belief in their own customs, land, and work, in favour of a growing belief in the superiority of the Europeans.

This belief in the superiority of things from outside of Melanesia was named the 'Cargo Mentality' by popular educators in Melanesia, and it has become a powerful tool for analysis and transformation in adult education

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programmes. Indigenous educators began to realise that being an indigenous person is not just about land and labour in themselves, but it is also about people's belief in the power of their land, labour, community, and customary knowledge and education to provide them with happiness and a satisfying quality of life.

More parallels between African history and Melanesian history were uncovered by community animators in their attempts to understand what it means to be 'indigenous'. The first commodity that was traded from Melanesia to the rest of the world was slave labour. Just as indigenous land and African labour provided the foundation on which the United States was built, so were Aboriginal land and Melanesian labour used to accumulate the original capital which made the modern nation of Australia possible.

Melanesian community educators then began to ask why the Europeans needed to come to Africa and the Pacific to steal the indigenous peoples' land and labour in the first place. In order to answer this question, a more critical examination would have to be made of the history of the people of Europe itself. Melanesian popular educators were very surprised to learn that only a few thousand years ago, Europeans lived on their land in much the same way as indigenous peoples in Melanesia do today. Over the course of recent European history, however, the control that the great majority of Europeans once had over their land, their communities, their cultures, their bodies, and their lives was taken away from them through a process that has become known as the Enclosures. These Enclosures went so far that by the time the Europeans arrived in the Pacific, the indigenous peoples of Melanesia were much more prosperous than the majority of the people of Europe at the time, who had been driven off their land and forced to work for a wage that was barely enough to keep them alive (Linebaugh 1992).

The mechanism of Enclosures is one that is used at every stage of the continual expansion of the control of a small minority of people over the land, labour, and lives of the majority. In order to make possible the brutal

control by a small class of company owners over the labour of so many people in the industrial and preindustrial workplaces of Europe, millions of peasants had to be thrown off of the land, in order to reduce them to such a state of poverty and insecurity that they would be willing to sell their labour power as industrial work. The traditional inalienable indigenous relationship between people and land was completely extinguished and replaced by a relationship of alienable ownership during this period of European history.

For the peoples of Europe, the Earth was thus transformed from a source of nurture and abundance into a wasteland of scarcity and a pitiless enforcer of capitalist work. But these initial Enclosures were not an unmitigated success. Resistance to the Enclosure of the common lands and to industrial work in Europe was fierce and organised.

While the enclosure of land was a necessary condition for the birth of modern European industrial work, it was not a sufficient condition. Federici (1994) argues that people's relationship with their bodies would also have to be enclosed, because the body is both the receptacle and the limit of all labour power. Europeans would have to be alienated from their bodies just as they had been alienated from their land, so that the body could become a 'work machine', devoid of spontaneity, creativity, autonomy, and readily adaptable to monotonous, 'disciplined', repetitive work, controlled by someone else and for someone else's benefit. In short, the Europeans' relationships with the Earth and their bodies were destroyed and then recuperated by a small class of company owners and investors, so that 'work' in the European sense of the word could be born. This as well was not an easy process. Millions of women were burned at the stake as 'witches' in order to make people in general and women in particular accept the fact they were no longer in control over their bodies.

Any Enclosure in the outer or material world must be accompanied by a corresponding Enclosure in the inner world of consciousness. No Enclosure is complete until the majority as its target begins to accept the

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Enclosure as a 'natural' or normal state of affairs. Although laws were passed and brutally enforced to destroy the material reality of the Europeans' traditional relationships with their land and their bodies, these Enclosures were not deemed successful until the majority of Europeans themselves finally accepted the new enclosed relationships that were needed to create capitalist work. So, while the peasants of Europe were being driven into the towns, into the factories, into the navy, into the debtors' prisons and into indentured servitude in the colonies, the philosophers, the schools and the churches were laying the foundation for the construction of the self-disciplined worker as 'free' agent in the marketing of his/her labour power. In Europe, it was not until the last half of the 1800s that nearly three centuries of Enclosures of land, bodies, and consciousness finally succeeded in establishing the self-disciplined 'adult/worker' and capitalist 'work' as the dominant forces for production, a process that was supported at every juncture by the most ruthless State violence.

Popular educators now realised that being indigenous is not just a question of control over land and labour. It is also about the mind and the body. Indigenous people are those people who do not as yet accept in their minds that it is right for someone else to control their land, and who do not yet accept in their bodies that it is right for someone else to control their labour. It is no accident, then, that the Enclosures in Europe coincided with the European invasion of indigenous lands and the enslavement of indigenous peoples in the Americas, Africa, and the Pacific. In order for the Enclosures of land and labour to succeed in the 'Minority World' (that is the 20% of the world's population who dominate and control 80% of the world's resources), even more brutal Enclosures of land and labour must occur in the 'Majority World' (that is, the 80% of the world's people who must struggle to survive on the remaining 20% of the world's resources). And just as in Europe, the Enclosures of land and labour in Africa and the

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Pacific came together with the Enclosures of the mind and the body through the influence of European churches, schools, stores, and companies.

Melanesians are very familiar with the mechanism of Enclosures, since it has been the main means used to bring about the transformations that have occurred in their educational, spirtiual, economic, and political lives since the Europeans established the first missions in the mid-1800s. The Enclosures process happens when a minority takes something (like land, labour, education, or spirituality) that once belonged to and was controlled by everyone in the community and encloses it by putting a fence or walls around it. Once it is fenced or walled in, the minority declare ownership over it. The minority then 'package' the thing that they have enclosed with illusions and addictive substances and behaviors so that they can sell it as a commodity that is 'superior' to that which is not enclosed. Finally, the majority begin to give control over their land and over the fruits of their labour to the minority in order to gain access to the enclosed commodity, which they have come to believe is 'superior'.

When indigenous people begin to believe that the enclosed land, education, work, or spirituality of the invaders is superior to their traditional unenclosed land, education, work, and spirituality, an important transformation occurs. Melanesian popular educators use the terms 'reading life' and 'writing life' to discuss this transformation in their communities. When their minds are invaded by the church, the schools, and the stores, indigenous people begin to lose the belief that they traditionally had in their own power to understand (or 'read') and transform (or 'write') their world in their own interests and they begin to accept the fact that their world is somehow being understood and transformed by someone else, and in someone else's interest. This is the essence of the Cargo Mentality, where people no longer feel that they have the power to 'read and write' their own lives, but instead have resigned themselves to having their lives 'read' and 'written' by someone else.

Instead of struggling to analyse and understand their realities (that is, reading their lives) as their ancestors did, many Melanesians today are passively accepting the preprocessed realities which are produced by international companies and then fed to them by the media, the schools, the churches, the governments, and the international agencies. Instead of working together as communities in the traditional way to solve their problems (that is, writing their lives), many Melanesians now just wait for the Cargo to come, that is, they expect the missionaries, the government, or the WB and the other international agencies to come and fix the problem for them. Of course, these agencies, if they ever come at all, normally only succeed in creating new problems which are much more devastating than the old ones that they were supposed to solve.

The establishment of the European school system in Melanesia is a good example of the Enclosures process at work. In traditional societies in Melanesia, education and knowledge are unenclosed.Teaching and learning happen everywhere and everyone is both a teacher and a learner. Everyone has knowledge and everyone has power. But when the Europeans came, they enclosed knowledge and education by building walls around them in the form of classrooms and books. All knowledge and power in the European schools was concentrated in the hands of the teachers, while the students were treated as if they were knowledgeless and powerless.The Europeans then declared that the education inside the classroom was the only REAL education, while the education and knowledge that existed outside were not real, were vastly inferior, and belonged to the devil. But in order to gain access to the real and superior education of God and the Europeans, Melanesians would have to pay school fees.

While traditional education has continued to guarantee most Melanesians a life of prosperity and security, European style education in Melanesia has been a disaster, with only an infinitesimal minority able to access high paying jobs as a result (Ahai and Faraclas 1993, Faraclas 1995). But because European education has been marketed as the key to

access to money and the Cargo, parents will go to almost any length to make sure that their children attend school. School fees have proved to be the most effective way to ensure that Melanesians, who otherwise would have little or no use for money, would need to sell their labour or their land for cash. School fees have been so successful in forcing Melanesian land and labour into the service of the companies and the cash economy that every WB/IMF report as well as every SAP and Education Reform proposed by WB/IMF in Melanesia has recommended that the European school system be expanded and that school fees be increased.

We should therefore be wary of the 'Education Reforms' that the WB/IMF is now proposing for Melanesia and for the rest of the Adjusted World.

The 'Industrial Revolution' in Europe and 'Age of Colonisation' in the Americas, Asia, Africa, and the Pacific, however, did not mark the end of the Enclosures process. Since the 1970's, all of the peoples of the world have been experiencing a global wave of 'New Enclosures'. The New Enclosures that we are presently experiencing consist of the usual mix of Enclosures of our material reality and Enclosures of our consciousness, backed by violence (Midnight Notes 1992b). Workers in the West are having their relatively well paid assembly line jobs enclosed, and in the name of 'crisis' or 'competitiveness' are being expected to accept low paid service jobs in their place. Workers in the East have had their 'socialist rights' to education, health and work enclosed, and in the name of 'crisis' and 'the market economy' are expected to accept a wage of less than US$30.00 per month, while criminalised 'entrepreneurs' become rich and powerful. Workers in the South are experiencing the enclosure of their means to earn enough money to eat, and in the name of 'crisis' and 'adjustment' they are expected to accept the sale of their organs or their children as a way to supplement their incomes.

Indigenous peoples are experiencing the Enclosure of their land, and in the name of 'crisis' and 'development' they are expected to accept hunger,

homelessness and poverty for the first time in their history. Women, people of colour, and lesbians and gays are having their hard-won rights and opportunities enclosed, and in the name of 'crisis' and 'backlash' they are expected to accept the rise of fascism and to accept the role of scapegoat for the 'crisis' as well as the role of convenient foil for the hatred and frustration of the victims of other Enclosures.

Any one of these Enclosures would not be possible without all the others. For this reason, there has been an unprecedented proliferation of armies, police, special squads, 'Contras', prisons, information/control technologies, propaganda machinery, repressive laws, draconian punishments, tolerated bigotry, and Education Reforms to enforce each New Enclosure, either by deploying the macro-powers of the State and/or by shaping and mobilising the micro-powers of the self-disciplined individual. The only governmental budget items to consistently receive massive increases in funding during all of the years of 'Crisis' in the North and under all of the WB/IMF SAPs in the South are those of the military, the police, and the prisons.

An adequate definition of what it means to be 'indigenous' must take account of the fact that any Enclosure in the material reality of a community is not complete, unless it is accompanied by a corresponding Enclosure of collective consciousness.

The successful struggles of indigenous peoples, such as the Torres Strait Islanders, whose lands have been invaded and colonised for more than a century have shown that a people has not really lost its land until it accepts and resigns itself to its own expropriation. 'Indigenous peoples' are those populations who have not yet had their traditional relationship to their land, labour, communities, languages, customs, minds, and bodies enclosed and/or who have not yet stopped struggling against the Enclosure of their traditional relationship to their land, labour, communities, languages, customs, minds, and bodies.

We could restate all of this in the form of this short definition:

Definition:

Indigenous peoples claim traditional and sovereign power over their lives.

Clarification 1: Power over life includes power over land, labour, community, custom, language, mind and body. If indigenous people's control over any one of these things is destroyed, their control over all of the others will be destroyed as well and their lives will be worthless.

Clarification 2: Indigenous peoples believe in their own power to understand and transform their realities and rule themselves collectively as communities in their own interest. Indigenous peoples do not believe in or accept laws, governments, education systems, religions, and ways of doing things that were designed by a small class of people that wishes to dominate other people in its own interest.

Let us contrast this definition with the working definition of indigenous peoples formulated by Jose Martinez Cobo of the United Nations Human Rights Commission. According to Martinez Cobo, indigenous peoples, communities, and nations:

1) have a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories;
2) consider themselves as distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories;
3) form non-dominant sectors of society;
4) are determined to preserve and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories as the basis for their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social

institutions and legal systems (in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, 1996).

Structural critique of Martinez Cobo's definition

The biggest structural weakness of Martinez Cobo's definition is perhaps a result of the fact that he was working for the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities of the United Nations Human Rights Commission when he wrote it. Martinez Cobo's definition assumes that all indigenous peoples are 'non-dominant sectors of society', which 'consider themselves as distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in the(ir traditional) territories'. This ignores the fact that there are societies like those of Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu, other societies in the Pacific, as well as some societies in Africa, where indigenous people:

- are the overwhelming and predominant majority;
- retain traditional control over their ancestral territories;
- do not have to reckon with a significant presence of any 'other sector' on those territories;
- sometimes enjoy constitutional recognition of their customary laws and powers; and
- often hold state power.

It is disturbing that the experiences and struggles of hundreds of millions of indigenous peoples worldwide are excluded from consideration by this definition. It is even more distressing that the indigenous people who are excluded are precisely those who have been affected least by the invasions of non-indigenous peoples.This effectively severs a crucial link in the struggles of indigenous peoples against the invasion of their land, labour, minds, and bodies.

Most of the indigenous peoples who do fit Martinez Cobo's definition have had their lands colonised and have lived for centuries under the invaders' laws. These indigenous peoples often have a difficult time imagining what it would mean to have real power over their land again. For this reason, they often limit themselves to the struggle for 'land rights'.The concept of 'rights' is a European idea that became popular during the period of the Enclosures, when people's power over their land and bodies was taken away from them. When the ruling classes of Europe had taken full power over the people's land and labour, they gave the people a few 'rights' in exchange. Rights are a cheap substitute for real power. They are the crumbs off the invader's table. Here, the living reality of indigenous peoples who have never lost power over their land is of critical importance.The indigenous peoples of Melanesia could help indigenous peoples elsewhere to realise that they do not need to be content with limiting their struggles to a few rights. The real power that Melanesians and other indigenous peoples who do not fit Martinez Cobo's definition still have over their land, labour, and lives can be an inspiration to other indigenous peoples to put questions of power back on the table.

Melanesians also have much to learn from other indigenous peoples who have had more experience with the mechanisms of invasion than they have.The WB/IMF 'Land Mobilisation' Programmes are promising Papua New Guineans and Ni-Vanuatu bank loans for 'development' and 'protection' from land claims by their neighbours in exchange for registering their customary lands. Papua New Guineans and Ni-Vanuatu need to hear the stories of the indigenous people of Aotearoa, who now realise that when they registered their land, they removed it from their customary laws and put it under the law of the Europeans. As soon as Maori land was registered, the Europeans used their bank loans, their courts, their taxes, their money, their parliament, and their influence over the minds of the young people through their education system to take control of 85% of the land of Aotearoa.The biggest threat to indigenous control over land is not

the small land claims made by neighbouring indigenous groups, it is the insatiable hunger of international companies for control over more and more land and more and more labour.

Melanesians are being promised 'benefits' in the form of cash and 'social services' in exchange for agreeing to register their traditional land and allowing timber companies and mining companies to operate there. The indigenous peoples of North America and Australia are in an excellent position to educate the people of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands about how timber and mining operations have poisoned their land and their communities and about how cash and other 'benefits' have only made their problems worse and caused their people to feel powerless.

Conceptual critique of Martinez Cobo's definition

The biggest conceptual weakness of Martinez Cobo's definition of indigenous peoples is that it says little about who indigenous people really are. It avoids dealing with the underlying questions of power relations that indigenous peoples' continued existence at the end of the twentieth century force the entire world to confront. If we define 'indigenous peoples' as populations with a pre-Enclosures relationship to their lives, land, labour, communities, families, laws, customs, languages, minds, and bodies; that is, whose relationship to their means of production and reproduction do not yet function within such fundamental anti-democratic discourses as 'ownership', the potentially earthshaking contributions of the struggles of indigenous peoples begin to emerge.

Once such basically unjust and artificial concepts as 'ownership' and the nuclear family are called into question, deeper and deeper levels of oppression become vulnerable to critical analysis and creative struggle. Indigenous peoples' struggles have the potential to challenge all of the peoples of the world to reclaim their lives, their humanity, their knowledges, their spirituality, their loves, their communities, their land,

their labour, and their belief in their own power to understand and change the world in their own interest

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CHAPTER 13

THE SAAMI EXPERIENCE: CHANGING STRUCTURES FOR LEARNING

Jan Henry Keskitalo

Introduction

This paper focuses on some of the dynamics and changes which occurred in the Saami society during the last two decades culturally, politically, economically and socially. The contemporary Saami society strives to find its structure and values between the mainstream of the nation state, with the Saami individual as a citizen, and the evolving Saami institutions and structures. At present, regional variations of Saami identity are experienced, maintained and managed within the Saami communities, with their traditional structures and the concurrent mainstream structure. Is the Saami future, for the individual, being first and foremost a citizen and then a Saami? And is the understanding of having a Saami future a simple question of whether or not to focus on tradition alone? These are among the questions discussed in the contemporary discourse of Saami living. The political goals of the Norwegian authorities about Saami education in general are rather vague. There is a tension between official statements of the Norwegian government and the degree to which the principles are practically implemented. The Saami Parliament of Norway has stated its own political goals about education and the future. The changes in general, create new demands for the Saami people, individually and socially, as well as for the Saami voices of the Saami Organizations. Structures change, as do peoples' experiences. Is Adult Education in line with these? What are the priorities of the Saami voice? Is the current Adult Education an experience enhancing individual pride and communities' strength, autonomy and integrity? Some of these questions will be discussed along with the perspectives of the change, based on the nature of change and the Saami Education Agenda.

The present structural situation

The Saami experience has shown that the actual possibilities to establish a formal Saami schooling are limited. The evolution of a separate Saami schooling system is not an option within the 1997 Reform. This reform, together with the reform of the upper secondary system of 1994 and the post-secondary reform of 1994, completes an overall reform from preschool level through higher education in Norway. The Saami Parliament several times since its establishment in 1989 intended to gain more political influence on the educational situation. So far no solution or major change is reached. The schooling of Saami students, as well as training on whatever level, is situated within the ordinary national system and its structure.

Some very few structural operational adaptations such as single schools and/or programmes or administrations are created, but none with respect to the distinct Saami political structure. Exceptions in this sense in Norway have been the establishment of the Saami Secondary Schools in 1960 , the Saami Education Council in 1975 and the Saami College in 1989. But even these depend on nationwide regulations, on general funding, have to compete for supplementary funding and must meet certain standard requirements. Adult Education (AE), in particular, is currently operated along a wide spectrum of public institutions (basic and continuing adult education), public employment authorities (certified and uncertified training), enlightenment organizations, and Folk High Schools. Each particular public schooling level, at primary, secondary and post-secondary level, has its own law, management structure, and funding features. The primary and secondary level, however, have common general guidelines covering the basic schooling. The public employment authorities focus on labor market needs and responsibilities. Priorities and funding are directed by (labor) market regulations. The private enlightenment organizations can be more flexible in their level orientations and have more possibilities to cover needs of/within the popular education sector. Maintenance and

improvement of Saami students' and peoples', identity, language and culture are politically limited by nation state structures and operations, with just few exceptions. The idea and experience of being Saami is framed by these facts. Some of the public support systems for Saami people have gained particular Saami power structure control and operation. The Saami parliament with its subsidiary councils plays an important role in a range of domains. Various fine art branches like literature, theatre art, traditional and contemporary music, traditional craft and figurative art have their own cultural council and funding system as a nationwide operation. A cultural heritage council administers the Saami cultural heritage budget and operations. Also the Saami language council and the Saami economic zone development fund, have their particular mandates and regulations.

Dynamics in the Saami society

Reviewed from a perspective of cultural adaptation as an ongoing process, education in general plays an important role in every society. Upbringing, teaching and learning are continuous and necessary processes for the individual, as for the community. As is true for other indigenous peoples of the world, the educational process among the Saami traditionally served the purpose of filling the gap between social needs and ideas about the future. The economic adaptation and the cultural process have closely interrelated and reflect a certain balance with regard to the fulfillment of the gap. This is in its ideal state a stable and well-organized situation. In the simple, or less complex society, the understanding of the content, means and time frame of education, is within a certain balance and control.

The task, need and purpose of learning are obvious as well as the modes and the measures, perhaps not so much to the individual but certainly to the society as a whole. The structure and content of education reflect the ideas of a particular social setting. On the other hand, the adaptation to nature modalizes the structural framework of education, with regard to spirituality, moral and philosophy, technology, social structure,

etc. According to this, we can assume that natural and man made inventions are interdependent and that both play an important role in the development of knowledge.

It is also necessary to compare the different conditions under which changes take place. From a learning perspective, the challenge is to find a core and common place for an educational system to exemplify and perform this. Despite local differences in the expression of Saami identification, there is, to some degree, a distinctive regional homogeneity. Thus, there is a relatively strong expression of a common understanding of a Saami society.

The future Saami society therefore must be understood on the basis of two apparently different phenomena. What constitutes the Saami is both the common and the variation. There is a need to maintain and develop the values Saami people share as common. At the same time it has to be understood that the basis for this is the variety of different understandings of being Saami and viable local Saami communities.

Understanding the dynamics of change

Generally and commonly understood, the concept of culture includes patterns of knowledge, skills, behaviors, attitudes and beliefs, material artifacts, etc. common to one particular group of people. Culture is the whole of humanity's intellectual, social, technological, political, economical, moral, religious and aesthetic accomplishments; an integrated set of norms and standards by which human behavior, beliefs and thinking are organized. As such, culture is undergoing translations and changes involving people and has to be considered as a process rather than as a set of static entities. As culture also could be understood as the store of knowledge, we could, certainly somewhat simplified, conclude that tradition, culture and knowledge overlap as concepts operationally. From an objective viewpoint culture could be understood as material and immaterial manifestations and thus as static and not undergoing change.

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This is one interpretation based on common daily life (Stordahl 1996). You rather have it, or not, and you may be interested in defining it, protecting and cultivating it. This is the value oriented cultural concept (Stordahl 1996 referring Klausen 1970/76) presupposing a standard or a scale.

The analytic conception of culture on the other hand (Stordahl 1996) discriminates between the ideas and beliefs people have in common and how these are expressed or how they manifest. This includes a division between "object" and "opinion" or between "culture" and "context." The analytic concept of culture includes that culture has to be communicated in order to be maintained, and that change is always taking place.

Referring to Rudi (1995), knowledge or culture could be perceived and understood as produced and maintained throughout life. Hence, as an empirical process where knowledge manifests itself by two main modes: first, the discursive mode, an articulated mode by description and verbal acting (knowing that); and second, the practical mode, a mute mode by individuals navigating through their world of customs and new experiences by more or less adequate reactions (knowing how).

By continuity we generally understand the continuation, the extension or prolongation of a given phenomenon. In relation to culture and knowledge, it needs to be reviewed in a more flexible way. Changes usually take place along four dimensions: culture, social order, economy and technology (Hoëm 1992). Changes occur differently among these dimensions, and at different speeds.

The challenge of an educational system for indigenous peoples cannot be simplified to a matter of content and structure, or to language/bilingual or cultural programmes. It must cover a whole new set of indigenous peoples' concepts and knowledge and has to be an integrated part of the collective consciousness of indigenous peoples. Education in the indigenous context is perceived as taking place within a social system. Formal schooling, in particular the school, is a social system, both in its macro system as well as micro system sense. Understanding the structure

and content of education, and how the different levels and units interact can lead to predictions of results for the individual and for the society.

Some of the stated formal political goals

The goal of maintaining and further improving the Saami as an ethnic group is reflected in many documents and connected to many events and levels. In the most fundamental and formal ways they appear in the Norwegian constitution (1988), in the Saami law (1987), and in other particular and significant political plans pertaining to the Saami people (Governmental propositions, Governmental Whitebooks, Government Plans, Saami Parliament plans, Saami Parliament Subordinate Councils plans, etc.). But we need to differentiate between two paradigms: the state authorities' policy towards Saami people and the Saami Parliaments' own policy.

They occur quite differently even though they derive from some of the same basic principles, among them the Norwegian Constitution, the Norwegian Act of 12 June 1987 (The Saami Act), the United Nations Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966 and ILO Convention No. 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries of 1989. The Norwegian Constitution places a lot of responsibilities on the state authorities as to "...ensure favorable conditions 'o enable the Saami people to maintain and develop its language, culture and social structures" (The Norwegian Constitution, article 110A, passed 1988). The same applies to the International Covenants and Conventions, ratified by Norway, and governmental declarations made by Norway during former negotiations for EC membership. For many Saami, as inhabitants of remote areas and as a minority with less status in the power structures, this can result in a negative reinforcement of the conception of their ethnic status. An optional paradigm is one using additional institutions and a higher degree of self-governance. The creativity and new activities around new symbols and institutions reinforce the positive conception of being Saami. It is an

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explicit Saami political goal that the Saami future has to be build on viable Saami communities (Sámediggeplána 1994-97) and that measures to further support Saami economy and social structure have to address the local conditions.

The Saami Political programme of 1986 was established by the Nordic Saami Conference. The Conference is considered a significant and validated body by the Saami organizations supporting it and appointing representatives to the Conferences. Up to this time, as the elected Saami Parliaments in each country start their cooperation, the Conference and its Executive Council have played a main role to maintain the Saami unity across the nation state borders that divide the Saami land. Its operations and principles are generated from the unified voice of its membership organizations. The Saami Political programme, hence, must be considered as the common Saami generated voice. The Saami Education and Schoolpolitical programme of 1989 is based on the Saami Political Programme of 1986 but is more detailed on Education and Schooling purposes in particular. School and education are considered critical to build the future Saami society. The current system forces the Saami to be next to the nation state majorities. To promote Saami identity, the schooling and training must have an extended function as to substitute disruptions forced by changes.

The basis for upbringing and education has to be structured through the principle of equality. Only then the children and the students will gain the willingness and the knowledge that helps building the Saami identity as a natural part of the Saami society and the national society as a whole, existentially and culturally. The Saami peoples' cultural heritage, understanding and management of nature, traditional methodology, etc., are mentioned among the principal aims for upbringing and education.

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Current political issues

The Saami culture, language and social life are fundamental to the Saami as a group. Educational equality is imperative and has to be secured by appropriate measures, resources and structures. But also the power structure needs to be evaluated to provide a fundament for Saami education. Current Saami policy underlines the important role of the school for the maintenance and strengthening of Saami identity and culture. It further states that there is a need for a Saami education system that contributes to formalize and improve knowledge, skills, attitudes, norms and values within the Saami society.

For a Saami school there is a certain need to incorporate and formalize the knowledge that binds the Saami together. At the same time, there is a certain need to choose a way of achieving this.

During the last two decades there have been significant improvements of national Saami symbols, concepts and understandings. The Saami Movement, both as non-organized individuals, ad-hoc organizations and groups as well as formalized nationwide and pan-Nordic organizations, has played a major role in shaping the basics for most of these improvements. During a period many of the improvements were considered radical and ethnocentric by the contemporary society. Today they have become conventionalized (Eidheim 1993) and consist of a variety of expressions and standards. The Saami Anthem is an example, as well as the Saami common flag and the Saami national day; symbols of a belonging that becomes more and more important. Another example is the establishment of a Saami parliament system with its subsidiary councils. Exclusive national symbols are being implemented and exclusive national institutions are created. They became common, and people try to express social and cultural relationship around them. From other domains we could exemplify this by the growth in Saami literature, as a contrast to the traditional oral literature. The institutionalization of a Saami house of literature bears within itself many challenges and problems. Literature as a creative and

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expressive art has norms different from the traditional literature. To structure one tradition into the modes of another is a complicated task, since it partly includes that the new setting has the same apparatus as the other. It also means a shift from common ownership to selected readings. As both, the traditional literature and the modern one live side by side, the school must reflect both. Another example is, that a part of the traditional craft, *duodji*, has become a part of the vocational training system. Both traditional and contemporary knowledge in reindeer herding are formalized and form a part of a vocational training programme.

As we see, the Saami experience is in-between the traditional nation state concept, the home rule concept and being an ethnic minority. For the individual Saami these concepts do not always reflect their own experience. Their experienced status of ethnic membership as Saami and their citizenship in a welfare state remain incompatible. Experience tells them that ethnicity and marginality intersect.

The national guidelines states general aims for adult education

Adult Education in Norway is regulated by the Act Concerning Adult Education of 28 May 1976 (latest amendments in 1991). By this act the aim of adult education is "...to contribute to giving adults equal access to knowledge, insight and skills which will promote individual growth and encourage personal development as well as strengthen the basis for independent achievement and co-operation with other people in work and community life." (Odin 11/20/96) . Also the Act concerning Upper Secondary Education, the Act concerning Vocational Training, the Act concerning Compulsory Education as well as the Act on Universities and Colleges play a role in regulating Adult Education. These laws are frequently supported by regulations on particular operations, standards and funding. The Primary Education, the Upper Secondary Education and the Adult Education are all subject to integration into one basic national

standard guideline of curriculum concerning aims, philosophy, social and human values nationally.

Three traditions of learning are expressed in the guidelines (General section, 1993) as to ensure that future generations take part in inherited practices and acquirement of new knowledge. The first one is connected to practical work and learning from experience. The second one is the tradition whereby knowledge is achieved through theoretical understanding in many of the general subjects. The third is the cultural tradition, as reflected in art and crafts, literature, song, that combines experience and expression. The school and the training, should reflect tradition and practical skills, theoretical knowledge and scientific methods, joy, artistic expression and expression of feelings.

The General Section of the new Curriculum in Norway (Reform 97) is the basic document stating the principle social and cultural aims for the public compulsory education. This also covers Adult Education. Fostering, based on humanistic and christian values, aims at promoting and broadening cultural heritage, and provides perspectives and guidance for the future. Without any other formal options being created, this is the basic principle for Saami students as well. The idea is, that our identity as individuals develops by becoming familiar with behavioral patterns, norms and forms of expression in our surrounding society. To maintain and broaden the student's knowledge about both local and national traditions therefore becomes a basic principle of education.

In the Saami context this means that the Saami cultural heritage must be maintained and broadened. Strengthening the Saami identity and the common knowledge about the Saami culture should therefore be of vital concern for the public system. In so doing, knowledge, skills and attitudes would improve through interaction between former and new conceptions of realities and experience within Adult Education. The idea is that this has to be maintained by three parties, the homes in their child fostering, the schools with formal education and the surrounding society.

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As we learned, more and more of the identifiable part of being a Saami becomes institutionalized and formalized. With regard to curricula this means that both the content, or the substance as well as the structure become more and more formal. The question of validity and reliability of representation also becomes formalized. The content and structure need exploration, reviewing, describing and testing.

This obviously makes sense for a Saami schooling system. The tradition, if not already done, has to be explored by both Saami traditional specialists together with Saami researchers and other researchers at different levels. The challenge is threefold: formalizing, institutionalizing and organizing. Both more than this the Saami continuity and change creates new adaptations and knowledge concepts. This knowledge covers conventionalizing and understanding the concept of being a people with a differentiated economy, regional adaptations and priorities. It created a higher horizon but at the same time it involved considerable adaptation to changes in ethnic categories to maintain balance and stability in confrontation with modern economy and change in social order. It also included invention of new Saami social categories as professionals, skilled workers, commercial enterprises, interest groups, artists.

Adult Education: an experience of change? some contemporary examples

A study of barriers within adult education undertaken in a specific area of the Northern Saami Region in the province of Finnmark, Norway (Stölen 1995) reports the following barriers as being considered the most significant ones by the students involved: (1) Some training was too theoretical (2) Some particular programmes were too exclusive in terms of the further training possibilities (3) There was a lack of professional and social tutoring.

Some of the programmes involved, in Stölen's (1995) study, were specially designed to raise the level of secondary graduation among age

groups beyond age 23 in rural and Saami areas generally, and thereby particularly increase the enrollment to professional training at University and College level. The study reports a significant need for tutoring and social guidance.

Another set of barriers reported by Stölen (1995) is connected to the social situation within the family and family care duties. Women especially are hit by this as the area and economies involved places the woman, mother and wife in a difficult situation. Location of programmes, family structure, and social dependence play a role when decisions are made about participating in programmes as well as when planning for a participation and whether one will complete a programme.

Lack of proper information about existing funding for adult education seems to have a negative effect on whether to choose to enter or not, as well as the total economy of the family combined with it's structure (adults and children entering education at the same time within a family). Physical and mental barriers also to play a role. Elderly men complain about not being able physically to compete with younger in future jobs. Adults ask for more specific information about programmes than what they currently get.

There is also a concern about getting information related to future job opportunities. The barriers reported affect gender, age and social type in different ways. One psychological barrier however seems particularly common: ambivalence. New demands considering identity building creates insecurity among people. Modernization creates new demands for the region, but modern economy creates a loss. The change at the social level is the one from primary to modern economy, from traditional lifestyle to institutions. At the individual level it is a change between traditional knowledge and school based knowledge. Hence, as the knowledge of experience is the traditional one with a local base, the knowledge of schooling represents modernity.

It becomes clear that relevance and reciprocity must be seriously concerned if adult education is to succeed both at the individual and the

social level. Well conducted programmes, as well as motivated students fail if students' expectations are not fulfilled or if the investments (social, economic, etc.) are higher than one could afford. Embedded in this is the feeling of a lack of relevance of the programmes, or simply structural imbalance since decisions about programmes are made far away. People are excluded from the process as changes in the social status of small communities are controlled by outside, distant authorities.

People, in their daily life experience knowledge in two ways, as citizens in general and as Saami in particular. This dual experience is formed by, and forms, the different solutions expressed by peoples behavior. A person could experience, in his/her social life that he/she has a lack of Norwegian language proficiency. This becomes critical to the individual as it could be an obstacle for utilizing their rights as citizens, independent of the kind of translation service provided.

This does not mean that these services are unnecessary, rather that people despite this have to learn to succeed in the contemporary modern society, and that even in the modern Saami society you need to include a bilingual competency. On the other hand, many elderly are illiterate in both Saami and Norwegian. Also, caused by language shift many young Saami in certain areas have become monolingual in the Norwegian language. For them, lacking the competency to speak Saami becomes an obstacle. It becomes necessary to combine two sets of cultural competencies, Norwegian and Saami (Stordahl 1996). Formal schooling is considered one of the keys to success, it leads to a job, it gives position in the contemporary society.

However, it does not necessarily lead to bilingual and bicultural competency, since many of the educational institutions and structures do not respond to the particular needs of the Saami society. At the same time there is a constant invention of new specialized Saami institutions. As found by Hoëm (1992) some of the changes people have to cope with is a situation with two different sets of institutions. Whether these are

compatible or not, is an empirical question. They could form a unifying force as social entities, but not necessarily. Furthermore, the relative distance between one's subjective feeling of belonging and other predictions of what it should be like, based on one's objective background, may be experienced as uncomfortable. The relative distance between the adults' world and the world of the children also increases as a result of this. In order to make permanent changes with certain desirable qualities the different parties involved need to share common values and interests. Results of such new implementations, implantations, or changes, out of balance, are unpredictable and may result in insecurity for the individual and the society.

Changing structures for learning

In many political documents (Sametingsplanen 1994-97, The Norwegian Governments Report of 1994 to the ILO expert panel on the implementation of ILO convention No. 169 of 1989), and research reports (Stordahl 1996, Høgmo 1985, Aikio 1991) the context, be it the local economy or whole community, is considered critical for the survival of a Saami society. Strong, self supportive/self-sufficient/independent and viable Saami communities are both a necessity in themselves, as well as fundamental to Saami identification. The cultural process taking place among Saami people (Magga 1992) is currently closely related to traditional economies. However, changes in economy often forces people to change cultural identity. This leads to bigger social changes, away from the life as Saami. Evidently, when change disintegrates sectors, the resulting structural imbalance affects those with less power and opportunities.

Opposite of this is the ideal picture of the self-supporting and strong Saami society consisting of a balanced integration between a strong Saami society with the contemporary larger society. It is an explicit political goal, by the Norwegian Constitution, to strengthen Saami language, culture and civic life. This would be impossible without finding proper solutions.

Economic development alone without bases in the cultural and social life is undesirable. The concept of "Saami labor" has to develop parallel to changes in the economy (Høgmo 1985). The society changes from an integrated type, sharing common needs of knowledge, common goals and the same values, to a differentiated society. Economic and social adaptation, through modernization, specialization and differentiation form a compound and complex society.

Saami development needs a balanced integration along with these changes in technology, economy, social order and culture to achieve the anticipated results. Adult Education, as one measure, is a goal and value of its own, but is needed as well to secure equality and properly balanced development for the people involved. Adult Education, thus, needs to be an integrated approach respecting and reflecting this paradigm. Currently quite different political concepts are performed by the public authorities and the Saami politicians. The locus of control is one of them. A shift in control will probably result in different priorities and operations that lead to new experiences for the people. This change in regime will create a new paradigm and lead to a new conceptualization and understanding of education.

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CHAPTER 14

TIAKI NGA TAONGA O NGA TUPUNA: VALUING THE TREASURES[1]

Towards a global adult education framework for indigenous people

Nora Rameka with Michael Law

Introduction

In the context of the present international debate about the aims and direction of adult education, the purpose of this article is to explore the value of adult education for indigenous people from the perspective of a Maori woman who has worked for many years as an adult educator in the community, in both voluntary and paid capacities[2]. The article concludes with an argument for the creation of indigenous qualifications frameworks. Although many readers may be familiar with some elements of the initial sections, these sections have been retained in this article as they provide both useful background information and, especially in the use made of Raninui Walker's (1990) work, the theoretical basis of the case for an indigenous qualifications framework.

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[1] This article is based on previous work by Nora Rameka and on interviews with Michael Law recorded in November-December, 1996. The assistance of Dr Joyce Stalker, Department of Education Studies, University of Waikato, is also acknowledged with appreciation.

[2] The first person used throughout the text is Nora's voice; first person plural is usually Nora referring to "we Maori".

Aotearoa-New Zealand: Some background notes

Maori, the tangata whenua (people of the land) of Aotearoa, began arriving from elsewhere in Polynesia between AD 800 and 900. Truly great navigators and seafarers, these migrants drew on a comprehensive knowledge of the elements and their deep religious beliefs as they moved through the Pacific (Walker, 1990). Their new land, located far further south than the rest of Polynesia, presented the early Maori with challenges. However, by the "second phase of settlement" (around 1100), more substantial houses were built and the staple root crop, the kumara, established (Walker, 1990). Thereafter, the population grew steadily. By the time the first Europeans arrived, Maori had developed a comprehensive social structure and a rich culture. The essential elements of Maori society were the whanau or extended family of three generations, the hapu or sub-tribe, the iwi or tribe, and the waka - " a loose confederation of tribes based on ancestral canoes of the fourteenth century" (Walker, 1990, p.65).

It was not until 1642 that Maori first encountered Europeans and then only briefly. In that year the Dutch explorer, Abel Tasman, charted part of the outline of the coast and attempted to land. His efforts were rebuffed. In 1769 the British explorer, James Cook, paid the first of three visits. He made contact with Maori at numerous points around the coast and began the process of trade that was to develop over the next seven decades.

In Cook's wake came sealers, traders, and in the early 1800's, missionaries.Each of these encounters induced a new phase of Maori learning. Drawing on educative tradition of adaptation and innovation that had characterized their history of residency in Aotearoa, Maori not only adopted and adapted Western technology but also the skills required to trade successfully. Walker (1990) reports that European seal-hunters began operating in 1792 and that timber was extracted from 1794 . He adds that as contact with Europeans increased, "tribes in favourable locations prospered by supplying ships" with food, flax, and timber (p.79). The arrival of the missionaries led to Maori literacy, in the European sense. A

written form of the language was produced, dictionaries developed, religious tracts and hymns published, and formal schooling commenced. The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 provided the legal basis for British colonization. The purpose of the Treaty was to cede sovereignty to the Queen of England. But while this was clear in the English version, it was obscured in the Maori version (Walker, 1990, p.91). The way in which this was communicated to Maori and the ways in which signatures were acquired remain controversial. A process of deception, Walker (1990) claims, that was to continue for the next 150 years. The Treaty did, however, purport to protect Maori rights. Again there are discrepancies between the two versions. Nevertheless, Walker (1990) notes that a very clear message was conveyed to the chiefs: "the Queen guaranteed the tribes 'tino rangatiratanga', the absolute chieftainship over their lands, homes and treasured possessions" (p.93).

The story of the next 150 years is one of increasing colonization and subjugation being met by resistance, regrouping, and cultural renaissance. As Ranginui Walker puts it, "an endless struggle (by) Maori for social justice, equality and self-determination, whereby two people can live as coequals in the post-colonial era of the new nation state in the twenty-first century" (p. 10).

The Maori today: A summary profile[1]

In his foreword to 'New Zealand Now: Maori', the Chair of the Maori Statistics Forum, Bishop Manuhuia Bennett, noted how "less than a generation ago the policy and intention of those in power was that the Maori should be assimilated into the majority dominant group." As a result,

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[1] All data and quotes in this section are from Statistics New Zealand (1994) New Zealand Now: Maori Wellington: Author

"very little specific information about Maori was sought by those responsible for the keeping of the nation's statistics." This has changed, he continues, now that "partnership, based on the Treaty of Waitangi, has replaced assimilation as the basis for the relationship between the two peoples."

The 1991 Census revealed that in excess of 500,000 people - 15% of the total population- identified as having some Maori heritage. A slightly smaller percentage (13%) identified as belonging either to the Maori ethnic group alone or to that and another ethnic group. This latter identification (the 13%) is used for statistical purposes to denote the Maori population. This population is expected to be much higher, perhaps over 20%, when the data from the 1996 Census are available. The Maori population is youthful. In 1991, nearly 40% of Maori were under the age of 15 compared to 20% of non-Maori. Thus Maori comprise over 20% of the country's children. The majority of Maori live mainly in the northern half of Te Ika a Maui (The North Island): the area in I which I work.

Maori occupy a depressed position within Aotearoa-New Zealand economy. This reflects the cumulative effect of colonization, land wars and alienation, and other oppressions, including assimilating educational policies and practices. This is felt most acutely in households with children. The 1981 Census found that almost two out of five Maori children live in households "with total household income in the lowest quintile (that is, the lowest 20% of all households with dependent children when ranked by income)" (pp 23-24). Ten years later, this situation had not changed significantly.

Maori income patterns are, of course, a reflection of their place in the work force. Historically, Maori have filled the more manual, less well paid occupations; notwithstanding the long if modest boom that followed World War II, movement into salaried and professional positions has been tortuously slow. Maori have been especially vulnerable to economic downturns. Thus in 1991, during a recession that followed neo-liberal (New

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Right) restructuring, only 60% of Maori men of 'peak earning age' (25-44) were employed compared to 80% of non-Maori. Similarly for women, with just over 40% of Maori women aged 25 to 44 being employed compared to over 63% of non-Maori women.

Education and skills are critical to employment in a modern economy. And it is here that Maori continue to live the consequences of colonization. Although the 1991 Census showed that the combination of independent Maori and government initiatives in education has led to encouraging improvements in Maori participation and performance, "in most areas, wide gaps remain" (p.25). Maori population in pre-school education has climbed from 30% to 60% over the decade 1982-1993, but this remains lower than the non-Maori participation rate of 76%. Maori participation in post-compulsory schooling is also improving; however, whereas nearly half of non-Maori proceed to the final form (grade) only one-fifth of Maori do. Maori leave school much less qualified than non-Maori, both in terms of the number with qualifications and the quality or level of qualifications attained.

Not surprisingly, Maori tertiary participation, while improving, still lags well behind that of non-Maori. Between 1986 and 1992 Maori proportion of enrolments in tertiary education rose from 6% to 9%. However, while the proportion of Maori in university programmes has risen from under 4% to over 6% and in teacher education from over 6% to around 10%, Statistics New Zealand reports that "Maori students are most strongly represented in polytechnics" (p. 31). The sting in the tail is in the type of programmes Maori undertake: "It is important to note, however, that greater proportions of Maori than non-Maori polytechnic students are in pre-employment programmes and trade training" (p. 31). And even at university, Maori are "most strongly represented at undergraduate level and are under-represented in post-graduate programmes" (p. 31); moreover, they tend to be concentrated in education and social or behavioural sciences

and "under-represented in commercial, professional and natural science subjects" (p. 31).

So much for younger Maori, but what of adults? The scars of past policies and practices in education are increasingly visible, the older the age group. Whereas in 1991 "54% of Maori women and 46% of men aged 15 to 19 had some school qualifications," the percentages dropped with each older age group. Thus from age 40 over 70% of Maori, women and men, lack formal qualifications. The same pattern of decline over age is also true of non-Maori, however, the percentages without qualifications are much lower and never exceed 57%.

It is against this rather dismal background that I now examine some contemporary aspects of Maori and adult education.

Adult education as a right

For Maori, any discussion of adult education as a right has to be based in the Treaty. That is, it has to be education that is premised on a recognition of our tino rangatiratanga (sovereignty) as a people. As such, it has to enable Maori to focus on the full range of our needs and interests including, but certainly not limited to, our economic interests. This raises very hard questions about the relationship between Maori and those with power over the provision of adult education, such as the state, educational institutions and authorities, and increasingly industry.

The story of Maori adult education from 1840 through to the present day is but part of a much broader struggle for social justice (Walker, 1990): a struggle to which Maori education and Maori social movements, as educative forces, have contributed significantly. In recent years, much progress has been made with the greater recognition of our language, Te Reo Maori, and with the establishment and recognition of Kohonga Reo (language nests-preschools), Kura Kaupapa (Maori language and/or immersion schools), and more recently, Whare Wananga (higher education/universities).

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But notwithstanding these advances, significant barriers stand in the way of realizing adult education as a right for Maori. This is because of a fundamental barrier: the reluctance of those with power - the educational establishment - to afford educational credibility to Maori adult education organizations.

The New Zealand Qualifications Framework

In the mid 1980s, the then Labour Government took a series of initiatives that resulted in a major restructuring of the country's qualifications regime as well as the organization and provision of post compulsory education. Against the backdrop of severe economic problems, this restructuring was premised on two important principles: first, an acceptance of human capital theory; second, a conviction of the merits of a more market approach to both the provision and the funding of education. Thus the overarching purposes of education have now been cast very firmly in economic terms. At their centre are the training needs of industries and enterprises. This has been accompanied by a restructuring that has encouraged provider competition at all levels and the proliferation of private providers, especially at the post-compulsory/tertiary levels.

The Qualifications Framework, which at times has been presented with great fanfare as if it were a uniquely New Zealand innovation, is derived from British models and has been developed in close harmony with the Australian National Training. It provides for eight levels of education and training ranging from quite basic skills at level one through to initial degrees at level seven and advanced degrees at level eight. The Framework assumes a unit or modular approach with assessment based on clearly defined standards that emphasize outcomes and criteria tailored to end user (employer) requirements. With respect to much of what is now called adult education, it is government policy that training be industry-led: the responsibility of individual companies meeting their own needs. This is to

be achieved through Industry Training Organizations, most of which are substantially, if not exclusively, employer dominated.

There were, however, some positive dimensions of the New Zealand Qualifications Framework (NZQF), at least as it was originally conceived. One was the recognition, even if somewhat muted, of the importance of a general education for all; another was the emphasis placed on equity consideration; another was the recognition afforded to Maori (indigenous) language, culture and knowledge. Thus the educational 'reforms' initially enjoyed quite widespread support from many quarters, including from many Maori.

Maori and the Qualifications Framework

Technically, a Maori Private Training Enterprise (PTE), which may be hapu (sub-tribe) or iwi (tribe) based, can be registered by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) and accredited to teach a selection of courses. But this is proving to be more difficult in practice than the policy implies.

First, because we have to jump through a number of expensive bureaucratic hoops in order to secure registration and accreditation. But second and more importantly, because of a fundamental reluctance to accept our educational credibility and our sense of educational priorities. Briefly, the power to register and accredit is ultimately vested in Pakeha (European) structures. These are dominated by a particular set of views about the purposes of education and related national priorities. Since the late 1980s, these have come to be defined by the labour market and associated economic priorities. In addition, these bureaucracies retain deeply rooted beliefs and prejudices about Maori and their 'limitations'. So even when the educational bureaucracy has a Maori face, it still pushes for a Pakeha value based, economic educational agenda.

Funding is linked to this problem of registration and accreditation. Unless a Maori adult education agency is integrated into the legislated

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regime administered by the statutory NZQA and the Education Training and Support Agency (ETSA), its access to funding is difficult if not impossible. First, only accredited courses receive direct Government educational funding. Second, Income Support (welfare) will only sponsor beneficiaries (e.g. the unemployed and/or single parents) into courses that can be located on the New Zealand Qualifications Framework (NZQF). Third, industry as well as other private sources are increasingly funding only NZQF linked courses. Free market advocates argue of course, that if a programme were intrinsically valuable participants would fund their own education. But this is meaningless to unemployed, low paid, or welfare benefit dependent Maori.

For Maori educational agencies, certainly the community based groups I work with, there seem to be only two ways to break through these barriers. One is to assume the priorities and values of the dominant order. That is, to allow the Government, industry, and the labour market to set educational priorities and to conform, without too much dissent, to the procedures and, by implication, cultural values of the educational establishment. The other way to make progress is to affiliate with an educational institution that has established credibility. My practice in my home area, Tai Tokorau (the Far North of Aotearoa-New Zealand), is to associate Maori adult education agencies with our local Polytechnic and/or with the University of Waikato's Centre for Continuing Education. I am also encouraging this in other areas I work in.

Such affiliations are valued, in that they help us work around the barriers. But they also underscore just how far Maori still are from securing adult education, on our own terms; that is, as a <u>right</u>. In Aotearoa-New Zealand today, such education is still a <u>concession</u>. We are compromising. However, such compromises can be seen as a further step in a struggle. With respect to our own PTE, I recently said to my people: "Okay, this is where we are at. We actually have to survive, so in order to get to the point

where we can offer some adult education programmes in 1997, we have to compromise."

My vision is that these short term compromises will allow us to establish our educational credibility and that once we have proven ourselves it will be harder for the educational establishment - the NZQA and ETSA - to deny us registration and accreditation.

Adult education as a tool

Adult education can be a very good tool for indigenous people because often they are the ones who at a younger age were the drop-outs from education. There was a breakdown in the system when they were young. Now as adults they are suddenly realizing how important education is. Thus the idea of adult education as 'second chance education' is important.

However, a central issue is the purpose of that education and the content. For Maori, the keys of their development as a people are Te Reo (the language) and Tikanga Maori (culture, values, crafts etc.). The more I talk to our people the more I hear this. They say to me, "Nora, we are not going to get ahead unless there is a foundation. The growth comes out of the foundation of language and culture." So the language, arts and crafts, culture in the broadest sense have to be at the centre of the whole process we are now calling 'Maori development'.

This brings me to my central concern with the Qualifications Framework. On the one hand, as many of my Maori colleagues believe, the framework offers new opportunities for Maori based or linked educational agencies to serve our people. But on the other hand, as I have indicated already, the assumptions and priorities built into the Framework do not necessarily reflect those held by Maori.

The Framework is economically driven. Its purpose is to cater for mainstream educational needs: that is, those of industry and the labour market. In so far as it acknowledges Maori language and culture, it does so primarily in order to facilitate the better integration of Maori into the labour

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market and, in a broader sense, mainstream society. Already we see, as a result of some of the improvements in educational participation discussed earlier, more Maori becoming 'well educated' in mainstream terms. But this has come at a price: many of the 'well educated,' usually younger, Maori I deal with have at best notional understanding of Maori culture and language. And it is in this sense that I go along with Walker's (1990) observation that "the universal culture of capitalism is what integrates Maori into the social mainstream of Pakeha society" (p. 198).

The alternative to this mainstreaming, is what Walker calls "cultural continuity" (p. 199): the perpetuation of "Maori identity, values and culture" (p. 99). I do not see how that can happen, through an educational Framework that did not, from its first conception, involve Maori actively as partners. By definition, 'industry-led' education and training puts the power in the hands of a section of Pakeha (European) society: a section that in turn is effectively controlled from overseas.

Towards indigenous alternatives

Indigenous people have to decide which road they wish to travel. Obviously we cannot ignore the dynamics of increased globalization; we form part of the world economy and have to relate to it and, to a large extent, live within it. But it does not follow from this that we have to surrender to universal integration. We have alternatives and there is much in our own traditions of independent adult education, the traditions associated with our languages and culture, from which we can draw inspiration and strength. The critical issue is that of control. If as indigenous people we are determined to maintain cultural continuity, then we must retain or regain control over at least those aspects of the qualification process that relate to our languages and cultures. Moreover, we must do this at the global level.

One practical approach is to develop an international qualifications framework or internationally linked set of frameworks that place indigenous

values, culture, and languages at the centre rather than on the periphery. These would:

- Provide indigenous people with their own, internationally recognized, legitimate qualifications regime;
- Serve as a basis for monitoring the extent to which national and international educational providers deliver in accordance with indigenous values, cultures, and languages;
- Enable non-indigenous people to acquire a more authentic indigenous perspective and understanding.

The advantages of this approach include:

- Indigenous autonomy, control, and monitoring of educational provision at the national and international levels;
- The opportunity to overcome the problems associated with 'intellectual property rights' and the accompanying appropriation of indigenous cultures and languages;
- Explicit recognition of the knowledge and wisdom of elders, in their own right, without the demoralizing, humiliating need for them to acquire mainstream qualifications and to sit through mainstream examinations in order to have their knowledge acknowledged/recognized/respected;
- The creation of a clear basis for resource allocation from government and other funders to indigenously recognized educational providers.

Underlying this approach is the self-confidence that we have a vision of ourselves as skilled people who can control our education and our resources. There is ample evidence from around the world that indigenous people, following land and other resource settlements, can manage their own affairs. And as Maori, we know that our ancestors were, in the early

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years of contact and colonization, more than adapt at business and trade. In other words, we can function well in both worlds and we need to draw on historic and present experiences in order to build among our various peoples' confidence now that some of our resources are being returned to us.

An indigenous framework or set of frameworks must be global. There are several reasons for this. First, because the experiences of indigenous people and the issues they confront are global. Together we constitute an identifiable, international strata or group. We are people with common experiences of colonization and oppression: an oppression that extends well beyond the economic and social notion that we associate with class relationships into the realms of culture, values, beliefs, and language; that is, into our whole way of thinking and living.

Second, we live in a global economy. In Aotearoa-New Zealand, real economic power and thus control over education and training rests not with national companies, but with multi-nationals - either directly or through investment companies. Multi-nationals, along with inter-governmental bodies such as the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and even the UNESCO, plan and operate at the global level. Third, almost by definition indigenous people as minorities in their own country are usually invisible. We need to make indigenous people visible both nationally and internationally. Fourth, there is a need for international solidarity. A global framework or network of frameworks will enable indigenous people collectively to support one another by providing a basis for an alternative international recognition.

Conclusion

This article has attempted to present a case for a global, indigenous approach to adult education that is grounded in my Aotearoa-New Zealand experiences but which also seeks to look beyond them. The ideas presented

here are very formative; they are a starting point, not a set of conclusions. The task ahead is clearly enormous, but it is also urgent. Most of us know that there are many mainstream forces and pressures that will seek to dominate the recommendations that emerge from the UNESCO Conference in Hamburg in July 1997. Most delegations will be drawn from mainstream currents and interests in adult education; thus there is a very real danger that even though indigenous people will be present at that conference, national pressures to identify with fellow country delegates may result in them being invisible as indigenous peoples.

Indigenous peoples must aim for international conferences with a collective understanding of ourselves as indigenous people whose shared experiences and concerns cross the national boundaries that have been imposed on them by colonizers. If they can achieve that, then they have the potential to take greater control over their education at both the national and international levels. This is critical to future generations' survival as identifiable indigenous people.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

THE HUAXYACAC (OAXACA) DECLARATION ON ADULT EDUCATION FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

Within the framework of the International Decade that the Indigenous Peoples, nations and nationalities[1] of the world deservedly won, the acknowledgement of our existence made by the governments of the world, and the contribution that indigenous peoples, nations and nationalities have made to the conservation of nature; and

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT that this acknowledgement has taken place partly thanks to Agreement 169 of the ILO and to other national and international institutions,

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT that we have a particular way of seeing and perceiving the world as a whole and of contributing with elements that may allow adult people, particularly indigenous populations, to learn, which should be considered a human right,

CONSIDERING that the indigenous peoples, nations and nationalities have an organizational, political, social, cultural, economic and technological structure inherited from our ancestors,

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT that official education has led to one single way of conceiving education which has produced the uprooting of our peoples and lands,

CONSIDERING that the world education itself minimizes the learning process which takes place among indigenous peoples, nations and

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[1] The concept of indigenous peoples, nations and communities was adopted at the Indo-Latinamerican Seminar which took place in Tlahuiltoltepec, in the Mixe Region, Oaxaca, in October 1993, so that it would compromise the specificities of the indigenous culture.

nationalities and that for us it may imply an insult since it is restricted to formal education and ignores the value of our own knowledge,

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT that the concept of development does not acknowledge the development of indigenous peoples, nations and nationalities, nor the great contribution we have made to humankind,

CONSIDERING that there are experiences of popular learning promoted by committed organizations and institutions which have integrated contents of great interest with positive results,

CONSIDERING that to rescue and preserve forms of development in the own terms of indigenous peoples, nations and nationalities is a human right which may maintain indigenous identity for the new generations,

The researchers, linguists, indigenous peoples, institutions and associations attending the International Seminar on New Perspectives on Adult Education for Indigenous Peoples taking place in Oaxaca City, Mexico, from January 15 to 18 1997, we declare as follows:

1. **W**e reclaim our own voice which must be recognized as such, and we assert the basic rights listed below.
2. **E**ducation is a right of every indigenous adult people.
3. **A**dult Education must strengthen indigenous peoples and their communities by enhancing their confidence to think critically and to take positive action to control their destinies.
4. **A**dult education for indigenous men and women must be made available in their own languages and must reflect their own cultures and world view.
5. **A**dult education for indigenous peoples must be linked to their destinies as individuals and as communities.
6. **A**dult education for indigenous peoples should start with the identification and analysis by indigenous peoples of their needs and lead to the enhancement and maintenance of their quality of life,

according to their priorities and using their knowledge, skills and traditional resources as much as possible.

7. National education systems must be reformed to include indigenous oriented curricula and programmes of study that encourage self affirmation and the formation of a positive sense of identity, recognizing that all cultures are equal.
8. Adult education must be an ongoing process that opens up the broadest array of options, opportunities and possibilities to every indigenous people.
9. An integrated programme of continuous and integral education must be developed for indigenous men and women which emphasizes the themes of peace, democracy and human rights in our communities, nations and nationalities.
10. Adult education programmes for indigenous peoples must be linked to the resources found in indigenous communities, so that skills gained can benefit those communities. Funding must be provided to indigenous peoples for this purpose.
11. Certain groups need to be targeted for special attention, such as indigenous peoples who live in communities whose resources are being exploited by outside groups; indigenous peoples who live in isolated communities, etc.
12. An association of indigenous adult educators should be established with full representation by indigenous peoples from around the world by the year 2000.
13. Indigenous peoples must be recognized as the owners of their histories, knowledges, technologies and languages.
14. When research is done about indigenous peoples or when knowledge of indigenous communities is recorded or made public, indigenous communities must have control over how that knowledge is used.

15. Control over adult education for indigenous peoples must be transferred to indigenous adult education authorities and organizations who are directly accountable to their constituencies by the year 2000.
16. Prior knowledge and experience of indigenous peoples must be recognized, validated and accredited.
17. Indigenous peoples must have the opportunity to set up their own legitimate qualifications regime, which will be recognized internationally on a par with other regimes.
18. Strategic planning by indigenous peoples must take place based on their adult education needs and aspirations, and adult education initiatives and activities must be structured according to indigenous peoples' values and methodologies.
19. Planning for all forms of international support for adult education programmes for indigenous peoples must involve the participation of indigenous peoples.
20. Adult education activities of indigenous peoples must be documented and evaluated (both quantitatively and qualitatively) in a manner that is owned and controlled by indigenous communities themselves. Funding must be made available to indigenous peoples for this purpose.
21. The culture and knowledge systems of indigenous peoples must be recognized, respected and used as a basis for the policies and programmes of governments, NGOs and all adult education practitioners.
22. Adult education initiatives must respect indigenous communities as knowledgeable partners and embrace them as equal participants in participatory planning, implementation and evaluation.
23. Governments, multinational and national companies and international agencies who wish to work with indigenous communities must conform to indigenous values and cultures, and be exposed to the

needs and benefits of working directly with indigenous peoples according indigenous ways of management.

24. **UN** bodies and others recognize the nature of adult learning of indigenous peoples and accommodate indigenous needs and concerns for learning in their work.
25. **T**here must be an ongoing political commitment to access and equity issues relating to the empowerment of indigenous peoples through adult education.
26. **G**overnments, universities and other institutions that are involved in the education of indigenous educators and leaders must create programmes that recognize and strengthen indigenous cultures.
27. **S**pecific programmes must be created to stimulate the oral transmission of indigenous knowledge to younger generations.
28. **A**dult education must have an intercultural and transcultural focus that includes non-indigenous cultures, in order to promote an appreciation on the part of non-indigenous peoples of indigenous culture, world view, political and social structures, spirituality, relationship to nature. Such programmes should be designed in order to promote the harmonious coexistence of the two cultures and to establish a truly democratic society with justice for all.

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Appendix 2

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